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**Conceptualising Inclusive Education for Conflict  
Affected Children in one School in Kenya:  
Implications for Leadership and Inclusive Practices**

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**Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Moray House School of Education  
The University of Edinburgh  
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**Declaration:**

I certify that this thesis has been written by me. No portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification at this or any other university or institute of learning.

Candidate's Signature

## **Abstract**

Violent conflicts related to tribal-political differences have characterised the Kenyan society since the declaration of multi-party democracy in 1991. The 2007/8 post-election violence (PEV) in particular resulted in the displacement of many Kenyans. Scattering of families saw some children losing months or years of schooling with others permanently excluded from education, while the participation and achievement of those arriving in school was characterised by complex needs and experiences.

This PhD study explored pupil and teacher perceptions of the learning and development needs of conflict-affected children in one primary school in Kenya. In particular, this study sought to understand how school leadership practice was developed and leadership roles negotiated, in order to meet pupils' needs and develop an inclusive ethos. The study addressed the connection between leadership, inclusion and post-conflict education.

A single intrinsic case study with aspects of ethnography was undertaken adopting an interpretive approach. Sixteen pupils (9–12 year-olds) shared their views of their learning and development needs through two activities. The headteacher, deputy, senior teacher and six teachers were interviewed (n=9) and asked to reflect on the challenges they experienced in addressing pupils' needs. Their perceptions of the roles for school leadership were sought, and observations of their everyday practices were conducted in classrooms, assemblies and school ceremonies. Data from these interviews, observations, texts-on-walls, and pupils' activities were thematically analysed.

The participants identified the following as pupils' learning and development needs: access to, acceptance in, and predictability of their new school; 'peer-connectedness', social development, and social inclusion. Children emerged as active agents in their own education, combating adversity through supportive peer relationships. Eurocentric and African perspectives on leadership, and Davies' (2004) work on education and post-conflict reconstruction were particularly useful in making-sense of how leadership unfolded in practice. Three areas of educational reconstruction in particular were identified as significantly underpinning leadership roles: i)

reconstruction of leadership structures allowed shared leadership which facilitated the meeting of pupils' needs at different levels; ii) reconstruction of relationships targeted repairing children's emotional, social and moral distortion, and iii) reconstruction of learning cultures encouraged collaborative learning initiatives that improved academic standards.

The study found that the connection between school leadership and inclusion in post-conflict schools can be understood along three themes. The first is 'post-conflict conflict'. I have used this term to reflect that the cessation of overt tribal violence, coupled with movement of pupils into this new settlement ushered in a new phase of conflict for pupils, teachers, schools and their communities. Schooling was characterised by poverty, fragmented/mobile families, distorted social values associated with post-election atrocities, alongside, structural barriers linked to government and sponsor-related needs. Second, 'connectedness': while societal fragmentation produced divisions, fear and suspicion of 'others', reversing the situation required school leadership to foster social connectedness. Finally, 'Africanised school leadership': fostering connectedness required enlisting communal responsibility and mutuality in undertaking emerging roles, thus, employing aspects of local indigenous heritage.

The study contributes to knowledge in the emerging field of educational leadership in post-conflict settings (Clarke and O'Donoghue, 2013) whilst addressing the less investigated connection between teachers, leadership and inclusive education (Edmund and Macmillan, 2010), particularly in post-conflict circumstances. The research is timely in informing leadership programs that the government of Kenya is advancing e.g. in decentralising decision-making (MOE, 2012b/c) and, re-alignment to its obligations in the IDP Protocol of the Great Lakes Pact (Kigozi, 2014). Recommendations are made for policy, practice and further research.

The conclusion to my study argues for a reconceptualisation of school leadership practice beyond single-leader paradigms, whilst revisiting prioritisation of roles for school leadership, especially, towards fostering inclusiveness in the conflict-prone Kenyan society.

## **Lay Summary**

Since the introduction of multiparty democracy in Kenya in 1991, recurrent tribal and politically-instigated violence have resulted in internal displacement of many Kenyan families. Fleeing young people do not attend school and those who arrive in schools have numerous learning and development needs. This PhD study was undertaken in one post-conflict community school in Kenya covering a period of six months. The study aimed to explore and understand how 16 conflict-affected young people perceived their own learning and development needs, through participation in two creative activities. The headteacher, deputy, senior teacher and six teachers were interviewed. They were asked to reflect on the challenges they experienced in addressing these needs, including how they developed their leadership roles to foster inclusive cultures for conflict-affected children. Observations were conducted on their practices and routines, and data from texts-on-walls collected to enhance evidence. All data were analysed thematically and literature was used for comparing and making-sense of findings.

The study found that pupils' learning and development needs included: access and acceptance in the new school community, assurance of the new school's predictability, social development, social-consciousness, alongside 'peer-keeping'. Children emerged as active actors in their own learning and development, particularly, forming peer-support networks to avoid self or home-related exclusions triggered by adverse circumstances.

Davies' (2004) ideas on education and post-conflict reconstruction were useful in making-sense of how school leadership was developed and roles negotiated in practice. Three areas of educational reconstruction were particularly key in underpinning the nature and roles for school leadership: i) reconstruction of governance (leadership structures) enabled shared leadership which increased teachers' influence in reaching-out to pupils' multi-level needs; ii) reconstruction of relationships targeted repairing emotional, social and moral distortion, and iii) reconstruction of learning cultures fostered collaborative learning initiatives that improved academic outcomes.

Overall, findings revealed that the connection between leadership, inclusion and post-conflict education involved: i) post-conflict conflict ii) pursuing ‘connectedness’ and iii), reviving aspects of African indigenous heritage in leadership practice.

The study contributes to knowledge in the emerging field of educational leadership in post-conflict settings (Clarke and O’Donoghue, 2013) with indications of connecting teachers, leadership and inclusive education (Edmund and Macmillan, 2010) particularly, in post-conflict circumstances. The research is timely in informing government efforts in resettling IDPs, as well as leadership development programs in Kenya (MOE, 2012c) e.g., those seeking to reform hierarchical leadership paradigms. Recommendations are made for policy, practice and further research.

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Thanks to my external and internal examiners, Professor Mel Ainscow and Dr. Jane Brown for accepting this enormous task. Truth is hard to come by (Thomas, 2013:69), so, this thesis is a learner’s starting point.

Unto God: for life, chance and grace to accomplish this PhD.



## **Dedication**

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved children, Rockyton and Shalom, to my dear mother Jane Wangari and to my family. You all believed in me.

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## **Acronyms**

AIDS:	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AIL:	African Indigenous Leadership
ADEA:	Association for the Development of Education in Africa
ASAL:	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
BEC:	Basic Education Coalition
CEDC:	Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances
CFS:	Child-Friendly Schools
CRC:	Convention on the Rights of the Child
EFA:	Education for All
ECDE:	Early Childhood Education and Development
FPE:	Free Primary Education
FDSE:	Free Day Secondary Education
GMR:	Global Monitoring Report
GOK:	Government of Kenya
HIV:	Human Immuno-deficiency Virus
HRW:	Human Rights Watch
IDC:	Internally Displaced Children
IDP:	Internally Displaced Persons
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
KCPE:	Kenya Certificate of Primary Education
KESI:	Kenya Education Staff Institute
KESSP:	Kenya Education Sector Support Program
KHRC:	Kenya Human Rights Commission
KIE:	Kenya Institute of Education
KIPPRA:	Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis
KISE:	Kenya Institute of Special Education
KNEC:	Kenya National Examination Council
KPTJ:	Kenyans for Peace with Truth and Justice

MOE:	Ministry of Education
MOHEST:	Ministry of Education Science and Technology
MVC:	Marginalised and Vulnerable Children
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPA:	National Plan of Action for Orphans and Vulnerable Children
OVC:	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PEV:	Post-Election Violence
ROK-SP14:	Republic of Kenya Sessional Paper No.14
SAGAs:	Semi-Autonomous Government Agencies
SMC:	School Management Committee
SEN:	Special Education Needs
TSC:	Teachers Service Commission
UNDAF:	United Nations Development Assistance Framework
UNDP:	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF:	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNESCO-IIEP:	UNESCO International Institute for Education Planning
WB:	World Bank
WC-EFA:	World Conference, Education for All

# **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

## **Context of Research and Layout of Thesis**

### **1.0 Introduction**

Recent scholarship in school leadership indicates that the agency of particular leaders and approaches they adopt in practice can only be understood by examining the context under which their leadership is exercised. This study was conducted in the context of violent conflicts, linked to tribal-political differences, which have characterised Kenyan society since the declaration of multi-party democracy in 1991. The 2007/8 Post-election Violence (PEV) in particular resulted in a scattering of families whereby, some children lost months or years of schooling, others were permanently excluded from education, while the participation and achievement of those arriving in school was characterised by complex needs. These outcomes had implications for schools and school leadership and inclusive practices.

This thesis concerns an exploration of the connection between school leadership, inclusive practice and post-conflict education. I explored sixteen pupils' and nine teachers' perceptions of the learning and development needs of conflict-affected young people in one primary school in Kenya. In particular, this study sought to understand how school leadership practice was developed and leadership roles negotiated, in order to meet these needs and develop an inclusive ethos. The overarching question for this thesis was: "How can school leadership practice and roles for school leaders be understood in connection to inclusive practices in post-conflict community schools, such as the case studied in Kenya?"

This chapter maps the context and focus of my research, and offers an outline of the organisation of this thesis. As will become clear in reading through the chapters that follow, an awareness of context in terms of education policy and social-economic conditions allows an understanding of the backdrop from which school leaders are pursuing inclusive practices for conflict-affected children. Firstly, I present my interest in the study, before outlining issues related to the study's context including:

Kenya's profile; education in Kenya; socio-economic conditions; background of study; aims, purposes and significance of study; research questions; and delimitations of study. Secondly, I highlight key issues discussed in each chapter.

## **1.1 My Interest**

In my teaching practice in Kenya, I worked in three different schools, all of which served children living in poverty. Such children tended to constantly juggle participating and achieving in education with searching for the basics of survival. One particular episode was significant. The 2007/8 PEV in Kenya saw many children come to our school in Nakuru. Nakuru was a relatively 'safe refuge' for many victims of violence arriving from Western parts of the country. These individuals settled in Internally Displaced Persons' (IDP) camps. Children from these households were highly vulnerable to exclusion from, and within education. Their state was distressing. Although primary school education was already 'free' in Kenya, pupils' sustained participation and achievement in education required that all practitioners invest passionate effort and mutual understanding towards this goal. Sometimes our headteacher, trying to balance regular school-related demands and children's multifaceted needs, became overwhelmed, which affected her health. Although there were many committed teachers, our headteacher tended to bear the entire 'leadership load' herself. Indeed, school leadership in Kenya has traditionally equated leadership with headteachers (Cullen, Keraro and Wamutitu, 2012; Jwan *et al.*, 2010) somewhat undervaluing other leadership possibilities in schools. As a teacher heading an 'examination office' in the school at that time, this perception of leadership led me to question whether individual headteachers' leadership was grounded in the needs of their communities, or personal attributes, or policy, or conventional assumptions about leadership. While I was aware of the intense emotional confusion that accompanied experiences of violence for both pupils and practitioners, I wondered whether all post-conflict schools operated along single-leader thinking. Although I did not know much about leadership, the idea that leadership was a monopoly of the headteacher sat uneasily with me. This was because, although some teachers did not carry any leadership labels, I had witnessed different accomplishments in school

where ‘leadership’ (from my assumption) had little to do with the headteacher; some even thriving in the absence of headteachers. For example, I believed in ‘joint sense-making’ and had experienced some teachers influencing our ways of working through goal-sharing, but I struggled to understand how these linked to leadership. Thus, I wanted to explore both explicit and implicit possibilities for leadership, particularly in a post-conflict environment, focusing on practitioners’ interactions at different levels. In such circumstances, I believed the ‘leadership load’ was too heavy to be carried single-handedly (MacBeath, 2009:41) because the level of social disorientation witnessed across the school community constantly required concerted action.

Beyond practical experience, during my Master’s degree studies, I sought to understand leadership practices that might respond to such a group of children. However, most of the school leadership literature centred on school improvement with a major emphasis on standards (see 7.3, detailed audit on developing this study). Thus, I decided to conduct this intrinsic case study focusing on the particulars of my research context as described below.

## **1.2 The Context of Research**

### **1.2.1 Kenya’s Profile**

Kenya is located in East Africa with an area of 582,646 km<sup>2</sup>. According to the National Census Report of 2009, Kenya’s population stood at 38,610,097. There are 42 tribal communities in Kenya with different spoken tongues. Tribes are locational with similar language-speaking people being concentrated around the same area (National Census, 2009). English and Kiswahili are the official national languages. They are predominantly used for daily communication in major urban centres whilst tribal languages dominate in rural Kenya. English is the language of instruction and examination from the onset of schooling (Dhillon and Wanjiru, 2013).

Kenya is a former British colony and the constitution she inherited at independence was recently reviewed and enacted, i.e. in the year 2010. The review led to

devolution of governance to Kenya's 47 Counties. As noted in 3.1.4, devolution of governance has had implications on educational leadership practice at all levels, e.g. requiring the transfer of decision-making capacities to lower levels of educational organisations (Sihanya, 2013).

### 1.2.2 Education in Kenya: Policy Context

Kenya subscribes to many international conventions that require members to ratify global educational agendas in local contexts. These include the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC); Vision 2030 and Education for All (EFA), amongst others. Kenya thus adopts global frameworks in pursuing education (Ministry of Education, 2008b). Kenya's commitment is demonstrated in local government frameworks such as: Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2005 on Education, Training and Research which guides education practice in Kenya; Kenya Education Sector Support Programme (KESSP) through which recommendations in the Sessional Paper are implemented; Kenya Constitution 2010; Kenya Basic Education Bill 2012 and Republic of Kenya Sessional Paper on Education No.14 of 2012 (ROK-SP14). Free Early Childhood Development Education (ECDE), Free Primary Education (FPE) and Free Day Secondary Education (FDSE) are current priorities. The constitution of Kenya states that every Kenyan citizen has a right to free and compulsory basic education. Thus, government spending on education is the largest public expenditure accounting for 6.5 % of Gross Domestic Product by 2007/2008 (Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis [KIPPRA], 2009); however, Kenya is also dependent on foreign donors in funding education, a position that calls for continued international consultations and partnerships (International Monetary Fund, 2012).

Two ministries are directly responsible for education at national level; the Ministry of Education (MOE) and the Ministry of Higher Education Science and Technology (MOHEST). These Ministries have structures responsible for different education-related tasks at different levels from pre-school to university. Other key Semi-Autonomous Government Agencies (SAGAs) working alongside the MOE include: Kenya Institute of Education [KIE] (curriculum); Teachers Service Commission

[TSC] (personnel); Kenya National Examination Council [KNEC] (examinations) and Kenya Institute of Special Education [KISE] (special needs). The current system of education is 8-4-4 as shown in table 1.1 below.

**Table1.1: Current Education System in Kenya**

Level	Period	Age
Pre-primary	1-2	4-5
Primary	8	6-13
Secondary	4	14-18
Tertiary/University	4	18+
Total	17+	

(MOE, 2012b:29-40)

From the Census in 2009, there were 2,247,071 pupils attending pre-primary education; 9,425,390 in primary schools and 1,796,467 in secondary schools.

Kenya introduced FPE in 2003. This was an all-inclusive education initiative which situated education as a vital tool for attaining human development and social justice, particularly, targeting elimination of longstanding intergenerational poverty amongst many Kenyans (MOE, 2008b; Sifuna and Sawamura, 2008). Thus, FPE targeted groups that had been marginalised/excluded from basic education largely due to household poverty (Sifuna, 2005; MOE, 2008b). Although based on fulfilling a politically oriented campaign pledge [declared on 6.1.2003, implemented on 9.1.2003], FPE required all government-funded schools to respond to this move despite lack of preparedness amongst teachers. Approving such educational agendas had implications for schools. They were expected to “*respond to diversity by meeting differing circumstances and needs of children*” (MOE, 2012:31), whilst school leaders’ actions and practices as “*leaders, managers and administrators*” are purportedly core in achieving inclusion in Kenyan schools (Gongera *et al.*, 2013:111).

While FPE saw Kenya's primary school completion rates standing at 76.8% in 2010, many children remained out of school (Child-Friendly Schools [CFS-Kenya], 2010; MOE, 2012b). Notably, in a Global Monitoring Report [GMR] (2010), Grade six (12 year-olds) completion rates in Kenya was estimated at (69%), compared to other African countries, e.g. Ghana (75%), Nigeria (77%), Namibia (82%) and Egypt (85%) (Sabates *et al.*, 2011:6). The report noted that, "*strategies designed to improve primary school retention and progression have received relatively little attention*" (*ibid.*, p.3).

The issue of progression to secondary schools is particularly problematic in Kenya considering Kenya's highly stratified education system, which is largely founded on her colonial past. At independence, the government restructured the colonial segregated system that had separate schools for Europeans, Asians and Africans (Eshiwani, 1990) into government, private and *harambee* Schools (*harambee* schools were set up by local communities). However, government schools (mostly former European schools) and private schools remained well resourced compared to *harambee* schools (Oduol, 2014). This arrangement was later re-stratified as shown below. After at least 8 years of primary education, pupils take a national examination, i.e. the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education [KCPE] which not only determines admissions to secondary schools, but the status of secondary school one can access. Five core subjects are examined in percentages, giving an overall score of 500 marks.

**Table 1.2: Stratification of Secondary Schools in Kenya**

<b>Type of School</b>	<b>Pupils admitted have:</b>
National	Top Score in KCPE (usually above 390 marks)
Provincial	Above average score, below the National school cut off line
District	Around average score
Other (Private)	Below average or any of the above groups, depending on school status



In the main, district schools are day schools, newly established with fewer facilities. They generally admit students who performed poorly in the KCPE, and their lower cost attracts pupils from low income households (Oduol, 2014). Compared to National and Provincial categories, District schools perform poorly in the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education [KCSE] (Glennerster *et al.*, 2011:6).

Kenya has also adopted the principles of Child-Friendly Schools [CFS] towards increasing access to education and ensuring that schools do not discriminate against children based on gender, ethnicity, social class or ability. The assumption is that education should foster acceptance and respect for diversity (ROK-SP14, 2012:32). However, the government recognises that:

*Marginalized, hard-to-reach and vulnerable groups are characterized by not having a clear institutional framework to oversee the development and implementation of policies and strategies developed by the State (Ibid., p.41).*

For instance, for locational or regional marginalisation, two disadvantaged communities are identified: people living in urban slums and informal settlements under abject poverty, and those living in harsh Arid and Semi-Arid Lands [ASAL] characterised by periodic drought and famine. The Ministry provides a situational analysis for these two groups and proposes interventions towards supporting their learning and development (MOE, 2012a:65). Although IDPs are marginalised due to violent displacements and relocations, education arrangements for conflict-affected children do not receive the same level of attention. While IDP camps may have slum-like conditions (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2011), they are not necessarily informal settlements (Kamungi, 2013) or located in urban areas (Kenya Human Rights Commission [KHRC], 2011). This leaves internally displaced children [IDC] in a gap in terms of policy interventions.

Notably, Kenya is a signatory to the Great Lakes Protocol on the Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons (IDP protocol) and The African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance for IDPs in Africa [the Kampala Convention] (UNDP, 2011). Kenya established the IDP Act in 2012. Despite these

affiliations, a survey by Kenyans for Peace with Truth and Justice [KPTJ] (2010) found that many IDPs live in transit sites due to delayed resettlement, as well as insecurity in their former homes/farms. According to KPTJ, attention in Kenya is diverted from long-term effects of violence amongst Kenyans, to unending rhetoric on holding perpetrators of post-election violence, accountable. This prioritisation has implications on the social-economic realities of many children in schools.

### 1.2.3 Social-Economic Conditions

The number of Kenyan households living below the poverty line stood at 46% (16.6m) in 2006 (Kenya Integrated Household Budget, 2005/6). Orphaned children were estimated at 2.4 million by 2008 (National Plan of Action for Orphans and Vulnerable Children [NPA], 2008:3). Although Kenya's economic stability improved between 2003-2007 registering 7.1% growth, this dropped sharply to 1.7-1.9 % after the 2007/8 PEV (KIPPRA, 2009). Recurrent tribal violence extensively depletes community resources, causing major poverty crises in the country (UNDP, 2009). This happens alongside other challenges, e.g. HIV/AIDS pandemic and periodic droughts. In Nakuru County, for instance, where many IDPs camped after the violence, the poverty index is 40.1% (Kenya County Sheet, 2011). Schools around the IDP camps are typically populated by children living in extreme poverty, with enrolments of 'homeless', unstable, traumatised and insecure children (Misigo and Koderu, 2010). Extreme poverty means that households cannot meet the basics for survival; are chronically hungry, have limited, or no, access to education, healthcare, shelter and clothing (Sachs, 2005). Notably, the rate of economic inequality in Kenya is high. Analysis of household consumption by KIPPRA (2009) showed that while the bottom 10% of rural poor households consume 1.63% of total household expenditure, the top 10% controls 35.9%. Household poverty in Kenya is a key determinant of enrolment, participation and completion of school cycles, many children being excluded from, or within, education as a result (Association for the Development of Education in Africa [ADEA], 2012).

It is against this country profile that school and school leadership practices were explored. Different elements of this context influenced the decisions and trajectories of school leadership. I now provide a background of the issue under study.

### **1.3 Background of the Issue**

The concepts of ‘inclusive education’ and ‘educational leadership’ have each attracted much attention in global education discourses, with their various perspectives being advanced; however, according to Theoharis and Causton (2006:3) and Edmunds and Macmillan (2010: xiii), not many studies have explored their connection in actual school practice. This is particularly so in conflict-affected communities where the role of educators has received little attention (Miller and Affolter, 2002; Mazawi, 2008) and research on school leadership in post-conflict education is an emerging field (Clarke and O’Donoghue, 2013). Different studies have attributed school leadership to: preserving school organisational integrity (Spillane and Coldren, 2011); institutionalising stakeholders’ demands (Gorton, Snowden and Alston, 2007; Gunter, 2012); implementing educational transformation agendas (Bottery, 2004; MOE, 2012b); mobilising players to achieve educational objectives (TSC, 2007) or reconstruction in post-conflict communities (World Bank, 2005).

Similarly, the quest for inclusive practices within educational settings is a contemporary agenda amongst global communities, as countries seek to provide educational opportunities to groups that have historically been excluded, marginalised or deprived from accessing and benefiting from education. Whereas many scholarly works have been articulate in showcasing the significance of school leadership practices particularly in pursuing aspects of school improvement, many have focused on accountability for standards and league-table targets. Though valuable, such tendencies have been blamed for potentially engendering a standards and league-tables oriented mentality amongst practitioners (Somerset, 2007; Ainscow and Miles, 2009), somewhat constraining school relationships and weakening aspects of identity, care, respect, trust, community [spirit] and

belongingness in many regions globally (Gunter, 2001:140; Bottery, 2004:95) including Kenya (Ogot, 2008; KIE, 2010). Within such circumstances, the nature, practice and role of school leadership in pursuing practices such as ‘inclusive culture’ in schools appears rather constrained or minimalist.

Today, the issue of post-conflict education and how educators make professional judgments to ensure children are included and remain in school notwithstanding societal fragmentation and dissolution of governments (Mazawi, 2008) cannot be ignored. Indeed, as evidence from my study shows, how school leadership responds to inclusive practices in circumstances of conflict is interesting because, the global demand for ‘good governance’ provides prescriptions for educational practices which may contradict contextual realities and priorities (Davies, 2013; Sihanya, 2013; Oduol, 2014). Equally, accountability for standards along league-table targets requires measuring educational outcomes along narrow cognitive competences, despite conflict-affected pupils valuing other forms of learning (Winthrop and Kirk, 2008). This suggests a need to account for learning beyond conventional pedagogy (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Mazawi, 2008) and leadership roles beyond the scripted.

#### **1.4 Aims of the Study**

The study aimed to provide an in-depth picture and understanding of how leadership for inclusion of conflict-affected children was conceptualised and experienced in one public primary school in Kenya, identified by local teachers as having both, a high population (71%), and, exemplary retention rate (95%) of most vulnerable children (MVC) from the 2007/8 PEV. The study also aimed to reveal the possible complex and interdependent leadership systems that allowed for dynamic responses to context specific problems as practitioners responded to issues of their ‘lived’ community (Wenger, McDermott and Snyder, 2002; Spillane and Coldren, 2011). Whilst not arguing that school leadership was the only aspect of practice that enabled such levels of retention, this study aimed to highlight particularly, the role of school leadership in combating exclusion and fostering inclusiveness in this respect. Thus, I sought to illuminate school leadership practices/perspectives operating implicitly or

explicitly in achieving this kind of inclusiveness, unveiling practices that largely go unrecognised, or, make what is assumed conventional practice, ‘unfamiliar’ (Patton, 1987). Being an intrinsic case study, no claims are made for generalisation, however, the study could offer insights to other teachers and educators working in similar or related circumstances, helping them draw connections and solve their own related issues. Towards these aims, the following questions guided my study:

1. How did conflict-affected children perceive their own learning and development needs in relation to their inclusion in education after post-election violence, and how were these addressed through their interactions with their headteacher and teachers?
2. What challenges were experienced by school leaders in their practice of inclusive education intended to meet the perceived needs of pupils in post-conflict schooling?
3. How was school leadership practice taken forward in order to foster inclusive cultures and meet the learning and development needs of children in the post-conflict school?

### **1.5 Purpose of Study**

The purpose of this PhD study was to examine the connection between school leadership and inclusive education practices with particular interest in conflict-affected children. More specifically, I sought to explore experiences and perceptions of young people, teachers and school administration on the learning and development needs of conflict-affected children in a post-conflict community school; exploring how school leadership practice was moved forward and leadership roles negotiated amongst practitioners in meeting the complex needs of young people after the 2007/8 PEV in Kenya.

## 1.6 Significance of Study

Many studies associate the term ‘inclusion’ with ‘Special Education Needs’ [SEN] (Vislie, 2003; Leo and Burton, 2006; Ogot, 2008; Ruairc, 2013). In Kenya, the focus on SEN (Muuya, 2002; MOE 2008a/b; Gongera *et al.*, 2013; Bii and Taylor, 2013; Akinyi and Orodho, 2014; Adoyo and Odeny, 2015) overrides the inclusion agenda somewhat blurring the all-inclusive initiative. Going beyond these conventional assumptions in Kenya, this study approached inclusion from an all-inclusive perspective, with interest in the case of conflict-affected children. This is because, although The World Conference on Education for All (WC-EFA, 1990) and the Dakar Framework of Action (2000) recognised victims of conflict as at risk of exclusion from, and within, education, there are indications that this group has received inadequate attention in the inclusive education agenda. An analysis of 44 countries’ educational plans for marginalised groups across global communities highlighted this concern (UNESCO-IIEP, 2010). Such ‘silence’ through unclear national strategies suggests a gap in understanding how inclusive education advances in turbulent circumstances, consequently making the work of school leaders daunting. Also, only a few studies in conflict-affected settings have focused on listening to pupils’ voices on the kind of ‘learning’ valued by pupils (Winthrop and Kirk, 2008) as opposed to providers’ learning choices. Besides, Takayanagi (2010) points out that many studies exploring the experiences of marginalised children in Africa often focus on the negative rather than the positive aspects of their schooling. My study allows children to talk about their learning and positive experiences about their schooling, alongside describing the challenges they encountered, e.g. children perceived their inclusion in education as a means for social mobility and inclusivity, social connectedness and community responsibility. In terms of school leadership, besides newness of leadership studies in post-conflict settings (Clarke and O’Donoghue, 2013), policy and scholarship in Kenya mainly characterise leadership as a monopoly of headteachers, reinforcing traditional hierarchical models. Yet, the government is advocating for devolution of governance in educational organisations (Sihanya, 2013), seeking more participative and democratic approaches to leadership and management in schools (MOE, 2012b). Conversely, attempts to advance more

participative practices have centred on transformational leadership (Bukachi and Mumley, 2009; Mwangi, Mukulu and Kabere, 2011; Ayiro, 2014) which targets principals' influence on teachers to meet government agendas. Indeed, leadership beyond headteachers is unexplored.

Heck and Hallinger (2005), Spillane (2006) and Leo and Burton (2006) noted that globally, there still existed a knowledge gap in understanding leadership practices in lived organisations. For Edmunds and Macmillan (2010: xiii), not many studies have made that connection of "*leaders, teachers and inclusion.*" Leithwood *et al.*, (2009:223) observe that much evidence in distribution of leadership focuses on formally established teams and committees, with virtually non-existent systematic evidence of the contribution of other patterns of distribution. The findings in this study do not promise answers to all these gaps, but add to the debates by other scholars especially on the multi-dimensional nature of leadership practice, whilst contributing to the empirical evidence and understanding of school leadership in conflict-sensitive contexts. The study offers insights into how practitioners can interrupt conventional school cultures, e.g. leadership and teaching/learning practices, towards more context-responsive arrangements.

The findings are also timely for the Government of Kenya on: i) its obligations in ratification of the Great Lakes Protocol on the Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons to which Kenya is signatory; ii) reforming hierarchical leadership models and appreciating the leadership contribution of teachers in actualising inclusive schools and iii) providing insightful lessons to inform leadership preparation programmes that the Kenya Teachers Service Commission has lately prioritised for school leaders, especially practices tailored to enhance FPE inclusion interventions in Kenyan schools (MOE, 2012b).

Moreover, by examining the issue of inclusive education as an agenda for 'reconstruction' after violence, this thesis moves beyond conventional expectations on school leadership, advancing understanding of both the dilemmas and effort

invested by teachers in post-conflict reconstruction. This makes this study significant in Kenya, and globally.

### **1.7 Delimitations of Study**

This study was pursued within the following parameters:

- The study adopted the term ‘leadership’, although acknowledging its close links to ‘administration’ and ‘management’ in practice and literature. This enabled the study to encompass the work of teachers whose roles may fall outside the traditional notions of administration or management.
- ‘Leadership’ has multiple definitions depending on scholars and contexts; here, it was perceived from the aspects of ‘influence, relationships and interactions’ in responding to context-specific challenges (adapted from Yukl 2002; Spillane 2006).
- Various leadership practices, relationships and influences existed in school, but the study targeted headteacher, deputy, senior teacher and teachers only.
- ‘Inclusion’ has multiple definitions informed by context, histories or social issues. I focused on access and sustained participation (ADEA, 2012) of conflict-affected children towards their learning and achievement of diverse education and social goals.
- All-inclusive education agendas target various groups or vulnerabilities: youths, teenage mothers, disability, locational marginalisation, gender, or cultural exclusion (UNESCO-IIEP, 2009). My interest was in conflict-affected children; perceived as ‘marginalised and vulnerable children’ (MVC) (MOE, 2008b).
- Many schools in Kenya have MVC, but I studied a single case of a school demonstrating high retention rates (95%) despite 71% of the pupil population being attributed to internal displacement.

After describing the context of my research, I now outline the content of each chapter.



## **1.8 Outline of Thesis**

Chapter 1 outlines the context, focus and issues discussed in this thesis. Literature is reviewed in chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 discusses issues related to inclusion and post-conflict education, while chapter 3 focuses on issues on leadership and post-conflict reconstruction. My aim was to explore the general theoretical underpinnings in each area of practice before exploring deeper practical connections through my fieldwork's evidence presented in chapters 5 and 6.

Chapter 2 has two sections. Theoretical underpinnings on inclusive education and education for conflict-affected children are examined. The global historical development of inclusive education is presented along SEN's lineage, then how inclusive education is understood and practiced in Kenya. The ambiguity in defining inclusive education and how its evolution has meant a shift in how educational needs are responded to in different contexts is examined. The contradictions within the Kenyan perspective, where the education system and its provisions are in themselves, unequal, are analysed. In section two, I examine the exclusion-inclusion forces that shape education for conflict-affected children. I demonstrate how the need for 'access', 'acceptance' and, 'school policies' pose challenges for schools and school leadership.

Chapter 3 conceptualises how school leadership practice might be understood beyond single-leader paradigms in post-conflict situations in Kenya, and possible roles for school leadership in responding to the needs and challenges presented in chapter 2. In section one of the chapter, leadership in post-conflict schooling is problematised before highlighting competing debates on leadership, management and administration. Lack of clarity in defining these notions is shown to create possibilities for embedded responsibilities for headteachers and teachers in their day-to-day school operations in Kenya (Nandwah, 2011; Wanzare, 2012), besides Kenyans adapting the terms to reflect external trends in educational leadership and management (Ayiro and Sang, 2011; Oduol, 2014). Leadership is shown to have attracted much attention across global communities in regard to school reforms and

herein, for post-conflict reconstruction. I question how dominant single-leader paradigms in Kenya can foster collaborative and conflict-sensitive approaches. Having encountered elements of shared leadership in my case study school, I discuss theoretical underpinnings to ‘shared’ and ‘teacher’ leadership. To situate my study within the emerging field of post-conflict education, three major ideas from Davies’ (2004) work were useful in making-sense of post-conflict reconstruction as demonstrated in my Kenyan case, i.e. reconstruction of: governance; relationships, and learning cultures. Finally, selected empirical evidence on leadership, inclusion, and post-conflict education is analysed, showing the gap that exists in understanding leadership beyond traditional hierarchical approaches in Kenya.

Chapter 4 discusses the research design adopted for my study. The study is located within the interpretivist paradigm, and the case study approach is justified. The design seeks to situate school leadership as socially constructed within interdependent relationships amongst the school community. The rationale for selection of participants is described as well as methods used for data collection and data analysis. This provides a clear audit trail of the procedures followed. Issues related to positionality; ethical considerations and ensuring trustworthiness in the research processes are discussed. Finally, limitations for this study are highlighted.

Chapter 5 presents findings for research question one: “How did conflict-affected children perceive their own learning and development needs in relation to their inclusion in education after post-election violence, and how were these addressed through their interactions with their headteacher and teachers?” and two; “What challenges were experienced by school leaders in their practice of inclusive education intended to meet the perceived needs of pupils in post-conflict schooling?”. In the findings, the term *administrator* refers to the headteacher, deputy and senior teacher; *teachers* refer to classroom teachers who would include deputy and senior teacher, and *practitioners* include both administrators and teachers. Section one of the chapter is my analysis of data from two activities with children: the semi-structured write-ups and ‘spider diagrams’ (see 4.4.4). These activities identified what pupils perceived as their own learning and development needs in post-conflict

education and how they perceived the headteacher and teachers as meeting these needs. The children identified access to school; acceptance in the new school community; assurance of the schools' predictability; social and economic development, community solidarity and 'peer-keeping' as important needs. They emerged as active actors in their own learning and development, forming strong peer networks to counter possible exclusions in/from education. Section two reported findings for RQ2 on challenges experienced by practitioners in meeting these needs which included: household disruptions, fragmented communities, social, emotional and moral distortion, and prescriptive policy guidelines.

In Chapter 6, I use ideas from Davies (2004) to make sense of how leadership was practised and roles negotiated amongst the headteacher, deputy, senior teacher and teachers in addressing pupils' needs. Three ideas on reconstruction of education in the aftermath of conflict were particularly significant in presenting the findings, i.e. reconstruction of: governance, relationships and learning cultures. Reconstruction of governance required modifying leadership structures and developing shared opportunities for decision-making about issues that were impacting on the inclusion/exclusion of pupils in and from school, as well as encouraging collaborative practices, formally and informally. Although the headteacher licensed leadership (Gunter, 2005) at lower operational levels, parameters were set for teachers' decision-making to preserve hierarchical conventions. From my findings, three levels of leadership emerged, enabling serving of pupils' needs at different levels: office-referenced teacher autonomy, small collaborative groups and a slightly different approach, 'team-building leadership'. The latter mobilised teachers to counter the possible exclusion of conflict-affected pupils from secondary education after completion of primary education, through teaming-up with neighbouring schools to device ways to expand two local secondary schools to accommodate local pupils. Relationships were nurtured through whole-school assemblies and ceremonies, where administrators cultivated social development; showcasing extra-curricular talents and building pupils' confidence and social skills to counter possible risks in their social environment. In these gatherings, teacher leadership became a means for reinforcing administrative leadership amongst the lower primary pupils

who were said to be more compliant with class-teacher leadership, than school-level leadership. In terms of responsive teaching/learning approaches, practitioners ‘interrupted’ some of their ‘normal’ teaching/learning methods, encouraging collaboration and sharing of expertise amongst colleagues to facilitate remedial support for those needing catching up.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis drawing together empirical findings in chapters 5 & 6 and the more theoretical chapters (1-4). To answer my study’s overarching question, key issues arising from, and underpinning the significance of this research are examined. It is argued that leadership in post-conflict settings can be understood as involving i) post-conflict conflict; ii) constant search for connectedness, with attempts to iii) ‘Africanise’ school leadership. My findings indicate that, despite cessation of overt violent conflicts in Kenya, in school, conflict was evident to certain degrees across pupils, practitioners, school community, government, and NGO policies. It is shown that the headteacher based his leadership practice on multiple understandings including Eurocentric and African models of leadership, besides his personal values and critical consciousness on the realities of the context. The chapter concludes that leadership in post-conflict setting went beyond headteachers confines although scripted parameters on leadership existed. Findings from this thesis are important for several reasons but mainly i) understanding ‘learning’ from conflict-affected pupils’ perspectives in post-conflict circumstances enables school leaders to mediate curriculum adaptation towards enhancing its relevance to day-to-day home and school experiences; ii) an awareness of how influence from different stakeholders creates barriers or opportunities in meeting pupils needs enables stakeholders to reflect on their practices and offer more useful support and iii) thinking about the roles of school leadership in the inclusion agenda in terms of ‘reconstruction of fragmented communities’ in turbulent conditions calls for other players to offer school leadership more support in their responses to inclusive education as a community good.

## 1.9 Conclusions

This thesis both adds into, and reinforces, different debates in school leadership and inclusive practices. Firstly, it advances an understanding of inclusive education in Kenya as beyond response to SEN (MOE, 2008b). In particular, the findings offer insights into how other forms of marginalisation like the less discussed case of conflict-affected children could be understood. Secondly, it reinforces the argument that leadership concerns influence rather than authority (Bush and Glover, 2014) which is usually located in headteachers' offices. For instance, despite the headteacher maintaining the traditional hierarchical structures and setting parameters for teachers' decision-making in leadership, there was evidence of shared leadership in the case study, and teachers' practices modestly depicted how they led informally. The implication was that with broader recognition and headteachers' knowledge of how to 'catalyse' teacher leadership, teacher leaders can thrive to support inclusive practices. While some distributed leadership approaches may also seek to shift informal teacher leaders to the "*formal side of the organisation*" (Leithwood *et al.*, 2009:223), structural rigidity in the Kenyan context constrains such arrangements, thus, many teachers who saw themselves as leaders, or were attributed leadership qualities by colleagues, led in informal capacities (Danielson, 2006). If leadership transcends hierarchical authority and is increasingly tied to values (Bush and Glover, 2014), developing such an understanding in the Kenyan context, where administrators have been socialised in hierarchical conventions, requires more research. Such research would be beneficial in the context of societal violence where authoritarianism and hierarchical regimes pose challenges to personal and professional values. Importantly, while the headteacher's leadership in post-conflict context is key in building and sustaining inclusive ethos, it is insufficient on its own.

Chapter 1 has mapped out the context and focus of my study, and issues discussed in each chapter. I now turn to chapter 2 to review literature on inclusive education.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Towards Inclusive Education in Post-Conflict Environments**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The literature review for this thesis falls into two key areas. This chapter examines issues related to inclusive education whilst chapter 3 explores issues related to school leadership.

Chapter 2 has two sections. To understand the nature and perspectives of ‘inclusion’ as they stand in educational settings today, I first explore the global historical development of inclusive education, then how inclusive education is understood and practiced in Kenya. My motivation is to situate the case of conflict-affected children within the inclusion agenda. In section two, I bring to the surface the exclusion-inclusion forces that shape education for internally displaced children. Based on my teaching experience and knowledge of literature, and in order to foreground findings from my fieldwork, I discuss how aspects of ‘access’, ‘acceptance’ and ‘school policies’ shape attempts at meeting the learning and development needs of conflict-affected children. Finally, I draw conclusions from this review and identify two main questions for my study: Firstly, how might conflict-affected pupils perceive their own learning and development needs in relation to their inclusion in education in post-conflict schools? Secondly, what challenges are inherent in meeting these needs for schools and school leadership in practice?

In this chapter, I examine how the complex needs and experiences of conflict-affected children could be understood within inclusive education discourses. Although ‘needs-based’ education is rightly critiqued when individuals are assigned deterministic labels (Florian, 2008; Ruairc, 2013) or stigmatising categories (Minnow, 1985), non-recognition of the needs of young people in post-conflict circumstances not only constrains provision of the much needed material and social-emotional support leading to permanent exclusions (Sommers, 2009), but risks denying them educational experiences that are directly relevant to their survival in

turbulent environments (Nicholai and Triplehorn, 2003). To ground this argument, I first define ‘inclusive education’, before tracing its evolution and subsequent ‘inclusion’ of victims of violence.

### 2.1.1 Defining Inclusive Education

The notion of ‘inclusion’ in education is open to interpretations with possibilities for different conceptualisations (Dunne, 2008; Miles and Singal, 2008; Ainscow and Miles, 2009). For Black-Hawkins and Florian (2011:814), the “*concept has defied precise definition*” whilst Ainscow (2009:1) thinks that “*the field remains confused as to what it means*”. Varied interpretations suggest contextual histories and philosophies, or theoretical development routes taken by ‘inclusion’ during its evolution, globally or locally (European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education, 2010). Globally, inclusion is understood as an educational reform that “*supports and welcomes diversity amongst learners*” (Kugelmass, 2003:3). Although bound by context, culture and history of individual countries (Ogot, 2008; Kisanji and Polat, 2009; Ainscow and Miles, 2009; Ruairc, Ottesen and Precey, 2013), its core principles centre on identification and a commitment to provide all historically deprived, vulnerable and marginalised groups with opportunities to access and meaningfully participate in education; meeting their fundamental learning and development needs (UNESCO, 2008; ROK-SP14, 2012). This characterisation goes beyond the traditional understanding where ‘inclusion’ centred on children with Special Education Needs [SEN] in countries of the North [USA and UK] (Vislie, 2003, UNESCO, 2009; Ruairc, 2013) as well as in Kenya (MOE-Kenya 2008a/b).

The quest for inclusive practices within educational settings in policy and scholarship is loaded with notions of human rights and social justice (Dakar Framework of Action, 2000; Ryan, 2006; West-Burnham 2010). Miles and Singal (2008) and Bunch (2008) agree that inclusive education seeks democratic principles and a set of values and beliefs pertaining to equality and social justice whilst Ruairc (2013:14) sees attempts to achieve inclusion as being derived from “*sources demanding a more equal society*”. Florian (2008) links it to human rights agendas that demand access and equity in education. In principle, inclusive education seeks to address barriers to

participation in education that are deeply entrenched in social and professional attitudes, values and misconceptions on race, ethnicity, disability or social class, aiming to address social exclusion (Ainscow and Miles, 2009; UNESCO, 2009; EADSNE, 2010). To better understand how societal dynamics have shifted the focus from SEN to inclusive education for all vulnerable groups including victims of conflict, the following historical background is helpful.

### 2.1.2 Inclusive Education: Historical Perspective

Globally, the practices, processes and scope of including children perceived to be marginalised or vulnerable to exclusion from, or within, education have adopted different terms over time. The changes reflect a shift in how difficulties in meeting educational needs for diverse groups are perceived and responded to (Ainscow, 1999:74; Paliokosta and Blandford, 2010). A shift in *terms* has meant a shift in *focus* (Vislie, 2003), while homogenisation of groups in education provisions has been found to underestimate the overlapping nature of needs (Ekins, 2013) and inequalities in education provision (Salmi, 2006; Armstrong and Spandagou, 2009).

Until the 1980s, globally, children seen as excluded or segregated from education were often those having organic impairments (Vislie, 2003, Ogot, 2008, Polat and Kisanji, 2009). Segregated provisions followed medical categorisation and were critiqued for being a “*mechanism of differentiating children, allocating them a lifestyle ... stigmatisation ... characterised by dependence and powerlessness*” (Clough and Corbett, 2005:15). This separation created social boundaries between pupils with SEN and their peers in mainstream schools.

Integration followed; pursuing physical inclusion or location of pupils with SEN in mainstream schools (Vislie, 2003). In Africa, it broadly involved “*partial or full physical placement of disabled learners in mainstream/regular schools*” (Polat and Kisanji, 2009:2). In Kenya, it concerned disabled and non-disabled learners being “*taught together to the maximum extent possible*”, with pupils being “*expected to adapt to the environment*” (MOE, 2009:6). Integration aimed to guard against reinforcing perceptions of being disabled (Vygotsky 1978 cited in, Gindis 2003:202-



203) whilst promoting socialisation. However, it required that additional arrangements be made to “*accommodate pupils with disabilities within a system of schooling that remained largely unchanged*” (Ainscow 1995:1). Thus, pupils were expected to fit into schools rather than schools changing to meet their needs.

In 1990, The World Conference on Education for All expressed a realisation that beyond disability, many children, youth and adults were historically excluded and marginalised from, or within education for multiple reasons. Consequently, meeting the basic learning and development needs for individuals regardless of their background was seen as fundamental. Article 1 stated: “*Every person - child, youth and adult - shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs*” (p.3), towards their development, survival and participation in their communities. These groups included:

*The poor; street and working children; rural and remote populations; nomads and migrant workers; indigenous peoples; ethnic, racial, and linguistic minorities; refugees; those displaced by war; and people under occupation (WC-EFA, 1990:5).*

This way, other groups including victims of war were featured as marginalised. In 1994, the Salamanca Statement on special education needs articulated the importance of schools accommodating all children regardless of “*physical, intellectual, social, emotional, linguistic or other conditions*” (p.15), suggesting that such conditions have acted as barriers to inclusion. At this point, ‘inclusive education’ was flagged as the most appropriate framework for responding to all learners’ needs and:

*Combating any forms of discriminatory attitudes, creating welcoming environments, building inclusive societies, providing effective education for children, improving efficiency, cost-effectiveness for entire education system and achieving education for all (UNESCO, 2009:8).*

Later, the Dakar Framework of Action (2000) strengthened the global commitment for EFA, reviewing the progress of access to education since the 1990 World Conference. Other ‘exclusions’ were emphasised including girls and teenage mothers. In the Sub-Saharan region, increased poverty, HIV/AIDS, war and conflicts were

major impediments to realising EFA. Along highlighting the case of victims of violence, education was also expected to involve “*learning...to live together*” (*Ibid.* p.8); an aspect particularly significant in war-torn communities. This broad understanding presented inclusive education as:

*... a process of addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all children, youth and adults through increasing participation in learning, cultures and communities, and reducing and eliminating exclusion within and from education. It involves changes and modifications in content, approaches, structures and strategies; with a common vision that covers all children of the appropriate age range ... (UNESCO, 2009:8-9).*

Whilst the Dakar Framework highlights the needs children bring into schools (e.g. poverty or victims of war), the needs approach has been critiqued. Commentators avoid defining inclusive education by labelling learners along specific characteristics to avoid presentation of differences as ‘problems and difficulties’ or what is perceived as deficit model (Dunn, 2008; Norwich, 2013). The needs-based approach purportedly perpetuates deterministic labels and stereotypical expectations for concerned pupils (Florian, 2008; Gorski, 2010). Moreover, the assumption that integration of certain groups in mainstream hinders the progress of others (Dunn, 2008:9) or, that standards (measurable outcomes) are compromised by inclusion of non-normative groups, is particularly problematic; some arguing that raising academic standards and pursuing inclusion are not necessarily incompatible (Florian, 2008). Also, there are arguments that some needs are better met if groups that have relatively homogenous characteristics learn together and retain aspects of their homogeneity, e.g. the deaf culture (Ainscow and Miles, 2009). A similar argument was raised in my own study, where internally displaced children (IDC) were expected to learn separately from non-IDC, based on their socio-economic status.

Whilst recognising that, “*effective teaching is effective teaching for all students*” (Ainscow, 2011:56) and that, stereotypical and deterministic labels are detrimental to the learning of any child, non- recognition of the different experiences children bring into classrooms (Knowles and Lander, 2011), or, lack of knowledge about pupils’ experiences of social atrocities can exacerbate barriers to their inclusion. As Black-

Hawkins and Florian (2011:816) argue, what teachers know, do and believe is interrelated, and raising the achievements of all children entails “*safeguarding the inclusion of those who are more vulnerable to exclusion or other forms of marginalisation*”. For me, knowledge of pupils’ needs and background experiences in any classroom equips educators with a fundamental inventory to critique or address barriers to learning e.g. how experiences of violence perpetuate inequalities or create new opportunities for pupils, or, how societal fragmentation and accompanying attitudes shape classroom practices and expectations. As Wedel (1995:100) argues, the Salamanca Statement should have highlighted that “*organisation of school systems should start by recognising the diversity of all pupils’ learning needs*” because, grouping needs presumes student homogeneity.

In post-conflict circumstances, the need for ‘welcoming environments’ and ‘inclusive societies’ (Salamanca Statement, 1994) for war victims is profoundly crucial because violence disintegrates communities and children may carry hurt or resentment into classrooms (Weinstein *et al.* 2007). This not only affects their academic learning but also how they form relations at school and beyond (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000). Equally, addressing the “*expectations of the students and communities*” (UNESCO, 2008:3) has implications for conflict-affected children whose education not only seeks quality qualifications (Dryden-Peterson, 2011), but skills to ‘survive’ in turbulent circumstances (Nicholai and Triplehorn, 2003). Whilst the need for ‘survival’ and resilience remains hard-wired into the consciousness of post-conflict educators (Mazawi, 2008), in ‘ordinary’ school learning, measurable test-scores are often foregrounded (Davies, 2010).

Despite definitional ambiguities, historical trends and debates on what counts as inclusive education across communities, all-inclusive education seeks to combat barriers to education for potentially excluded, deprived or marginalised groups; which means recognising the increased risk of exclusion of conflict-affected children.

Next, I examine how ‘inclusion’ is understood and practiced in Kenya, and where education for conflict-affected children features in policy and educational purposes.

### 2.1.3 Inclusion in Kenya: Definitions and Practice

Just as in the global context, inclusive education in Kenya is an elusive concept. Though policy on inclusion supposedly exists in schools, a study by the Kenya Institute of Education (2012) found that practitioners were not clear about its meaning. A similar observation on its lack of clarity is made in the ‘Republic of Kenya, Sessional Paper No.14’ of 2012. Unclear policy means that conventional interpretations remain tied to SEN in policy, practice, and scholarship (MOE, 2009; Bii and Taylor, 2013).

Nevertheless, during the 2008 International Conference of Education in Geneva themed ‘Inclusive Education, the Way of the Future’, the government expressed a commitment to provide quality inclusive education for all those individuals experiencing different forms of exclusion or marginalisation (MOE, 2008b). The new definition moved beyond the traditional notion of SEN to “*embracing education for all children, youth and adults through targeted support to specific or vulnerable groups*” (MOE, 2008b:3). This was to involve mobilisation of resources, a sector-wide approach (SWAP) to supporting education initiatives, and sanctioning of international conventions such as EFA (ADEA, 2012). This approach views inclusive education as a social and government responsibility. Attention is drawn to Children in Especially Difficult Circumstance (CEDC), characterised as ‘Marginalised and Vulnerable Children’ or ‘Most Vulnerable Children’ (MOE, 2008: ix, 4; ROKSP14, 2012:41) or ‘Orphans and Vulnerable Children’ [OVC] (NPA, 2008; CFS-Kenya 2010). According to NPA, these children are:

*Orphaned or those whose vulnerability results from parents/caregivers morbidity, mortality, household poverty or socio-economic problems that render them unable to receive basic needs including education and health (p.6).*

Their vulnerability is understood as:

*Increased exposure to risk as a result of individual circumstances ... their safety, well-being and development are, for various reasons, threatened ... they are emotionally deprived or traumatized. (ibid)*

They include: children from pockets of poverty, orphans, girls, those with disabilities, street children, HIV/AIDS related cases and children living in ASAL (UNESCO-Kenya, 2007). According to the Ministry of Education,

*Inclusion as a philosophy focuses on the process of adjusting the home, the school, and the society so that all individuals, regardless of their differences, can have the opportunity to interact, play, learn, work and experience the feeling of belonging ... to develop in accordance with their potentials ... (MOE, 2009:4)*

Yet, the notion of ‘inclusive education’ is challenging in policy and practice. In Kenya, it is premised on provision of equitable education for all following concerns about equality and social justice in a democratic society (ADEA, 2012). However, borrowing from Ainscow *et al.* (2011), children in Kenya join school from unequal backgrounds, have unequal access to education, unequal experiences at school and leave school with unequal outcomes. Findings discussed later in chapter 5 reveal how the interaction between unequal backgrounds and systemic inequalities meant possible unequal destinations for conflict-affected children in the case study. Principally, allegiance to, and discrimination through school stratification in Kenya (Sihanya, 2013:15) negates the idea of ‘equal’ or ‘open’ access to education (see 1.3.2, school stratification). Access is highly meritocratic and admission to particular well-resourced schools depends on performance in national examinations (Choti, 2009). It is pupils from predominantly poor backgrounds who end up in low-cost, low performing schools (Shimada, 2010), often with fewer resources. For internally displaced children, making the transition to secondary education is not only curtailed by economic hardship, but a shortage of secondary schools around IDP camps (KHRC, 2011). Moreover, outcomes cannot be equal if we account for individual differences (Knowles and Lander, 2011) some of which are produced or exacerbated during violent conflicts. That means, while conflict-affected children share a background of, e.g. surviving violence, they are not necessarily a homogenous group and can experience school differently.

At another level, Kenya’s CFS Manual (2010:5) defines inclusion as, “*enrolment and teaching of all children in formal or non-formal environments*”. The aspect of

‘non-formal’ contravenes the idea of all pupils learning together in regular schools. Yet, it echoes an assertion from World Conference (1990) in which an alternative response to exclusion is provided.

*Supplementary alternative programmes can help meet the basic learning needs of children with limited or no access to formal schooling; provided that they share the same standards of learning applied to schools, and are adequately supported. (Article 5)*

Kenya thus embraces non-formal education provisions, now called ‘Alternative Provisions to Basic Education’ (ROK-SP14, 2012:19) as means towards all-inclusive education. Alternative programs target the ‘hard-to-reach’ in informal urban slums or ASAL. They are flexible in terms of school uniform but follow a formal curriculum (ROK-SP14, 2012). Sometimes they provide alternative curriculum in secondary schools where access to science laboratories is difficult (MOE, 2008b: ix). These arrangements have been cited as alternatives for conflict-affected children who experience gaps in formal education due to displacement, or those who are over-age for primary school enrolments (UNICEF-Kenya, 2010). Somerset (2007), studying primary school transition rates in Kenya noted that being over-age was a factor contributing to school disaffection and attrition. This means that, lack of appropriate educational arrangements for over-age, conflict-affected pupils potentially re-marginalises them; perhaps exposing them to those looking to exploit this vulnerability for war-crimes (Sommers, 2009:33). Yet, non-formal settings have been blamed for limiting what pupils can learn compared to regular settings (UNICEF-Kenya, 2009), consequently, inhibiting pupils’ opportunities for gainful employment or participation in society. Similar to concerns about segregation or separation of children with SEN (Clough and Corbett, 2005), Sommers (p.33) argue that “*there is a reason underlying an institution’s separateness and that reason may be tied to social exclusion or inequality, both of which help fuel conflicts*” in warring communities. Indeed, the MOE (2008:42) admits the disparities between formal and non-formal provisions in terms of resources and quality. A question remains as to whether having separate provisions for the young people is helpful, and whose needs are served in these provisions. It also raises the issue of the extent to which learning

ensures equality, quality and relevance for the young people as underpinned by the purpose of education in Kenya (ROK, SP14, 2012) as discussed below.

#### 2.1.4 Purpose of Education in Kenya

In policy, inclusive education seeks to combat poverty and other forms of social exclusion in Kenya (MOE, 2008b). Currently, major concerns are centred on relevance, i.e. providing education that is *“fit for purpose”* (MOE, 2012a:57). Yet, comparing policy and practice, the ‘fitness for purpose’ seems unclear. At independence in 1963, *“eliminating poverty, ignorance and disease”* through education (MOE-Kenya, 2008b: xiii) pervaded educational agendas. From the National Census Report (2009), this goal has not been achieved. In principle, Kenya adopts a human rights approach to inclusive education in relation to the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights. By securing the purpose of education around notions of human rights and poverty eradication, Kenya seeks human and economic development towards industrial and technological development (MOE, 2012b:10). This is in line with her Millennium Development Goals, aiming for globally competitive skills necessary to move Kenya into a middle-income country by 2030 (MOE, 2008b). However, Kenya’s Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) acknowledges *“the correlation between poverty and illiteracy levels especially amongst young adults who are the producers and custodians of the country’s wealth”* (MOE, 2008:34). This means, many young people are still left out of education and economic productivity (United Nations development Framework [UNDAF] for Kenya, 2009-2013).

While the government perceives basic education as a fundamental step towards income for sustained livelihoods and improving one’s ability to take advantage of presenting economic opportunities, Kenyan education is claimed to limit unemployment for many youths, especially conflict-affected ones (UNICEF-Kenya, 2009). According to Wambugu (2011:94-96) from a national survey, access to basic education is insufficient by itself to enable access to the public sector employment that appears to provide far more sustainable livelihoods in Kenya. Wambugu observes that higher levels of education are potential avenues to formal employment

and higher annual earnings, and educated workers have a significantly higher probability of finding work in the public-sector. Geda *et al.*'s (2001) study, analysing determinants of poverty in Kenya, suggested a strong link between poverty status and the level of education. Households headed by an educated parent have higher chances of more educated children, whilst more educated children tend to obtain a job after their education. Looking at the case of IDPs, A UNDP (2011:5) report showed that they lived in poverty and slum conditions, and had poor access to livelihood opportunities, which increased the chances of youth being 'hired' by politicians to engage in violence during election periods. Moreover, a report by UNESCO-Kenya (2012:2) shows that poorest households in Kenya cannot afford the cost of secondary schooling. With no secondary school education, e.g. in slum areas, about 50% of men and 80% of women aged between 15-24 years have no income-generating activities. Thus, for inclusive education to respond to longstanding intergenerational poverty (MOE, 2008; Sifuna and Sawamura, 2010) especially for IDPs, the government needs a critical examination into why such a group is perpetually marginalised in the society despite 'free education'. In conflict-affected circumstances, access to, and participation in education serves both economic and social purposes (Nicholai and Triplehorn, 2003; Winthrop and Kirk, 2008).

For instance, literature shows that education in post-conflict contexts can reproduce the skills, values, attitudes and social relations of dominant groups breeding tensions, repressions and more exclusion (Davies, 2005; Jaya, 2013a). Conversely, education can mediate social reconstruction and development of human capital, altering practices that perpetuate inequalities (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; World Bank, 2005; Goddard, 2014). Kenya situates education within the second function; seeking social justice, social cohesion, national unity and rule of law, whilst upholding a democratic, just and equal society. These elements are said to culminate into competent, caring and responsible citizens (KESSP, 2008-2012:9) who not only have "*sufficient knowledge and skills, but who know how to interact with others ... harmoniously*" (MOE, 2012a:25). Despite such policy rhetoric, political tribal violence is common in Kenya (Hughes, 2011) and often infiltrates into schools causing immense tensions (Dattoo and Johnson, 2013); risking exclusion of children from education.



Essentially, scholars taking social inclusion perspectives to post-conflict education perceive quality education to surpass academic subjects into enabling global survival, where education develops citizenship and cohesion (Davies, 2010), fostering *“learning to live together”* (UNESCO, 1996:18). This assertion echoes arguments for pupils with SEN, which affirm a need for that education that enables their integration into the broader society (MOE, 2009). As Postman (1996:18) observes, *“public education does not serve a public, it creates a public”*. In the African context, Ngara (2007:8) perceives children’s experiences of education as collectively constructed and conveyed through participatory and collectivist ways of learning, taking a community focus. However, for conflict-affected children, learning and pursuing inclusive education is constrained by community disintegration, societal dysfunctionality, practitioners’ expectations, alongside educational structural constraints.

Against this backdrop, in the next section, I examine extant literature identifying how post-conflict dynamics shape inclusion or exclusion of conflict-affected children.

## **SECTION TWO**

### **Inclusion-Exclusion Dynamics for Conflict-Affected Children**

#### **2.2 Introduction**

In this section, I turn my attention to the needs and experiences of internally displaced children. I examine the circumstances shaping their access, participation and achievement in education. I analyse three areas of needs which emerged as significant in relation to my field findings: i) accessing school, ii) acceptance in the new community and iii) education policies. My review of literature in this section was premised on an iterative inductive-deductive process; shaped by my fieldwork (see section 4.5). Finally, I highlight the major questions emerging from this review.

Generally, violent conflict impacts on children in numerous ways and the damage inflicted is extensive, intense and lasting. In the aftermath of violent conflict, affected settings are characterised by extreme poverty (Dryden-Peterson, 2011; KPTJ, 2010) with affected children juggling survival and pursuing education (NPA, 2008). Fleeing conflict is followed by protracted displacement, destabilised life, uncertain futures and fears of recurrence of conflict (Dryden-Peterson, 2011; UNDP-Kenya, 2011). Pupils suffer social-emotional and moral distortion (Boyden and Ryder, 1996; UNICEF-Kenya, 2009), with possibilities for trauma, as witnessed in schools around IDP camps in Kenya (Koderö and Misigo, 2010). Pupils' cognitive and social competencies are delayed due to breakdown of community structures (Machel, 1996; Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Jaya, 2013a) whilst others arrive in school over-age, without prior formal education (Sommers, 2009). Displacement and conflict often result in children missing years of schooling (Winthrop and Kirk, 2008); some having no hope of ever accessing one (Sommers, 2009). Their presence, participation and achievement in education is inevitably constrained by these factors, and they also have to negotiate systemic and structural barriers that govern schooling. This comes alongside societal expectations that may normalise, exacerbate (Davies, 2010) or misrecognise their needs. Importantly, the overlapping nature of these needs and

challenges inherent in pursuing inclusivity in post-conflict situations cannot be underestimated.

I first look at the need to access school.

### 2.2.1 Accessing School

During violence and displacement, forced relocation brings disruptions to many aspects of life, including access to education. The Ministry of Education in Kenya defines ‘access’ as “*the opportunity availed for one to enter education and training*” while its related term ‘admission’ refers to “*the granting of opportunity for a qualified person to pursue education*” (MOE, 2012: viii). This means that lack of access to education narrows the chances of being admitted (qualifying) to pursue education. Globally, statistics on the impact of conflict in education are not clear, but estimates indicate that millions of young people miss out schooling with limited prospects of re-entry (Sommers, 2002). UNESCO (2004) notes that an estimated half of the 104 million children who are not attending primary school live in countries in conflict, or those recovering from conflict. By the year 2011, besides an estimated 10.5 million refugees around the world (half from Asia and 20% from Africa) about 27.5 million people had been forcibly displaced within their own countries, 19.5 million being children (Basic Education Centre, 2015). In many countries globally, violent conflicts have become characteristic of everyday life, threatening education development (Salmi, 2006).

In Kenya, the numerous politically-instigated displacements send children and families scattering - making them internally displaced persons. The Kenya Prevention, Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons and Affected Communities Act, (2012) defines IDPs as:

*A person or groups of internally displaced persons who have been forced, or obliged, to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or, in order to avoid, the effects of armed conflict, large scale development projects, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or man-made disasters,*

*and who have not crossed and internationally recognised state border*  
(p.4)

Although statistics on political-tribal violence and displacements are hardly well-established, the Kenya Human Rights Commission (2011:8-9) reports that from 1991-1997, election related clashes displaced more than 600,000 people in the Coast, Rift Valley, Nyanza and Western provinces, with schools closing and families fleeing. During the worst episode of 2007/8 post-election violence (PEV), over 650,000 people were displaced and at least 1,300 lost their lives (Human Rights Watch, [HRW] 2013) alongside the destruction of schools and disruption of schooling for many children (UNDP, 2009). Between 2012 and 2013, inter-community clashes in parts of the country had claimed 477 lives while displacing 118,000 others (HRW, 2013). Many displaced persons find themselves in protracted displacement, i.e. being displaced for five or more years without prospects of a durable solution (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). According to the Norwegian Refugee Council, it takes an average of seventeen years for victims of displacement (asylum seekers) to settle down (Goddard, 2014:4). Additionally, IDPs live in fear of a recurrence of conflict (UNDP, 2011). For instance in the Rift Valley of Kenya, a report by Kenya Land Alliance Survey of IDPs found that 32% of the displaced interviewed had been displaced at least once before, in 1992, 1997, or 2002 violence (KHRC, 2011:11). These stalemates and disruptions have profound implications for learning and development in various ways.

Firstly, from the Kenya Human Rights Commission IDP status report (2011), the high movement and uncertainty of livelihoods amongst IDPs was shown to be detrimental to accessing social services, like education and healthcare. KPTJ (2010) conceptualises this state as ‘locational diversity’ where IDPs are continually moving due to political uncertainty. Locational diversity means that fleeing young people are not attending school, and their search for safety and restoration often leaves a gap in life, with lost months or years of schooling. Those moving back to former settlements find schools destroyed or vandalised requiring reconstruction (KPTJ, 2010). The implication is that ‘transit’ periods create erratic patterns of schooling for IDPs, while the protracted periods of displacement potentially push pupils beyond

their primary school age-span towards another detrimental label, ‘over-age learners.’ Somers (2009:1) observes that after the cessation of violence, many violence-affected children remain out of school because of being over-age with no realistic hope of enrolling. Being over-age in primary schools in Kenya was earlier cited as a factor contributing to school disaffection and attrition (Somerset, 2007). To date, accessing education is still problematic for many IDPs, and this is particularly bleak for secondary schools aspirants (KHRC, 2011:4; HRW, 2013).

Secondly, displacement has led to abject poverty in many IDP households (UNDP, 2011; Nasongo and Muolo, 2011). Some children are affected by violence directly, e.g. physical cruelties like injuries, rape, death, or indirectly, e.g. hunger, lack of medical healthcare or fragmented families (Jaya, 2013). This situation increases the number of orphans or abandoned children (Vandenhoe and Weyns, 2009; Strecker, 2005; Irvine, 2015). In Kenya, research by Kamungi (2013:11) also highlighted the existence of ‘deliberately separated families’ (one care-giver remains in safe urban area while the other goes back to farm in their former conflict-affected settlement to balance safety and family sustenance). As UNICEF (1999:2) observes, conflict undermines “*the capacity of families and communities to protect and care for children*”. Also, lack of adult supervision can expose children to at-risk behaviour thus risking their education, e.g. if a girl becomes pregnant. In terms of psychological reconstruction and well-being, Weinstein *et al.* (2007:44) cite a post-world-war two study which concluded that children who remained with their parents showed more adaptability to adversity than expected. This underpins the importance of parental presence in children’s development.

The preceding discussion indicates how exclusion or inclusion in education is shaped by conflict, particularly due to the ensuing household disruptions, protracted settlement and poverty. As Bush and Saltarelli (2000) argue, restricted access to education is a strong indicator of deteriorating relationships between societal groups. The challenge arising for school leadership is how to increase access and participation whilst responding to the disruption produced by violence.

Next, I examine the complex nature of the need for acceptance during post-conflict times and how this shapes inclusion or exclusions in schools.

### 2.2.2 Acceptance in New School Community

Inclusion seeks to address the barriers to education that are deeply entrenched in social and professional attitudes, values and misconceptions about others (Ainscow, 2009), which in turn determine acceptance or alienation of ‘others’. Just as Dunn (2008) noted that inclusion of children with profound impairments in mainstream schools elicits disapproval/negativity from mainstream practitioners, conflict-affected children physically move to new locations where host communities may be reluctant to accept them (UNDP, 2011; Kamungi, 2013). Often they carry unprecedented socially produced labels, e.g. ‘IDPs’ or ‘refugee’ depending on country of location, which may stigmatise them. At times, negative social-cultural divisions between newcomers and host populations can emerge, especially when the host perceives ‘others’ as intruding or interfering with their regular socialisation processes. This potentially leads to conscious, or unconscious exclusions of conflict-affected children in educational practices, in various ways.

Firstly, IDPs in Kenya were reported to experience active or subtle rejection by host communities in certain locations because of ethnicity, mistrust or resentment even where communities shared ethnicity or family relations (UNDP, 2011; Kamungi, 2013). Indeed, Dryden-Peterson (2011) recognises the danger of physical integration without social integration. This means that, when IDPs join new environments where host communities are reluctant to co-exist with them, both parties may experience a perceived sense of instability. Schools are not immune to community differences, so, teachers and pupils can potentially be compromised along societal affiliations (Weinstein *et al.*, 2007). The tension can be associated with, for instance sharing [scarce] resources. An increase in population density in an area may necessitate sharing available resources with the displaced (Kamungi, 2013) or teachers overworking in classrooms. After 2007/8 PEV, schools where IDP camps are located experienced surges in enrolments making it difficult for all children to experience meaningful learning (KHRC, 2011). Conversely, resources meant to support IDPs

can end up benefiting the privileged through structural arrangements, or corruption (KHRC, 2011). Young (2005:3) provides an explanation that “*where group difference is socially significant for issues of conflict, domination, or advantage, equal respect may not imply treating everyone in the same way*”. This means, treating privileged and non-privileged groups equally can be problematic.

Secondly, after conflict, some groups may prefer separate educational provisions due to social or political reasons (Davies, 2005; Weinstein *et al.*, 2007; Gallagher, 2010). Yet, some separate provisions can nurture fundamentalism (Davies, 2004), or as Bush and Saltarelli (2000:15) claim, segregation encourages inequality and stereotyping alongside “*mutual ignorance and mutual suspicion*” for conflicting groups. Similar to claims about segregated schools from an SEN perspective, those learning in especially deprived separate schools can feel inferior, thus diminishing their self-worth (*Ibid*). Gallagher (2010) distinguishes between minorities having separate schools by choice, and experiencing forced segregation, as in apartheid South Africa. He argues that either option affects future opportunities available for young people and can exacerbate social divisions. As demonstrated through my findings in chapter 5 and 6, when communities prefer separateness, how school leadership ‘convinces’ groups of the merits of ‘togetherness’ shapes inclusive practices in that school.

Thirdly, displacement for affected individuals elicits mistrust and fear of ‘others’ (UNDAF, 2009-2013) sometimes producing alienation. Emotional issues may derive from accumulated frustrations from violence, or in trying to fit into a new unprecedented environment (Kum, 2011:68). Children may find it difficult to mingle with others, expressing fear especially of adults, or tending to be excessively clingy for fear of victimisation or abandonment (*ibid*). To the stereotypical observer, this behaviour may be interpreted as lack of independence or disinterest in relations, rather than reaction to foreignness or alienation. I find Sayer’s (2005) discussion on moral acceptance insightful in understanding this situation. He argues that emotions, and their accompanying sentiments, should be taken seriously as they have a bearing on the wellbeing of those who express them - whether victims or non-victims. For

Sayer, how we evaluate ‘others’ provides not just commentaries about them, but defines the way we, as evaluators, relate or act towards others. Bush and Saltarelli (2000:15) agree to this saying that teachers from the majority group in post-conflict situations may display negative dispositions against the non-normative groups, then employ certain sentiments to justify their in/actions. This reaction echoes Black-Hawkins and Florian (2011) study, which showed that teachers acceptance of pupils perceived as having additional support needs influenced their engagement with pupils’ learning, as well as pupils’ participation and acceptance by peers. Indeed, teachers’ assumptions may be founded on the social circumstances prompting their evaluations, along their subjective experiences with children. Nonetheless, Shields (2004:111) argues that *“based on socially constructed and stereotypical images, educators may unknowingly, and with the best intentions, allocate blame”* to children because of misguided assumptions. This implies a possibility for change, if teachers are provoked to think critically about own assumptions.

Fourthly, schools in host communities can find it challenging to accommodate children from other learning systems due to difference in, e.g. languages, accents, cultures or abilities (Basic Education Coalition, 2015:2). Rigidity in cultural practices means that hosts’ convenient ‘normality’ remains uninterrupted (Davies, 2010). This increases chances for discriminatory practices in schools. Sometimes, children might be perceived as ‘a problem’ that the host community can neither ‘fix’ nor respect. Borrowing some insights from Young (2005), when social groups are viewed as not functioning within the normal social range, a lesser status is allocated them. She adds that, through social structural processes, individuals with similar characteristics are placed together, for instance by their way of socialisation, lifestyle or neighbourhood, assuming their ‘inadequacies’ were their fault, thus excluding them. Kamungi’s (2013) study in Kenya showed that some IDPs and Non-IDPs perceived the IDPs’ status as an embarrassment. This echoes Edmunds and Macmillan’s (2010:8) argument about children with SEN, where traditional educators saw disability as *“shameful, embarrassing and too difficult to address in regular schools”*. This means that pupils’ state of displacement might increase devaluation of their heritage intrinsically and at school, or in Shields’ (2004:117)



term be ‘pathologised’ although they might share aspects of culture with the host community (Kum, 2011; Kamungi, 2013). As Lander (2011:112) asserts, children do not choose to be refugees [or IDPs]. When societies exaggerate their newly acquired identities and stereotypically link them to existing ones (e.g. tribal, religious, linguistic, or low-income), possibilities arise of reproducing tensions and exclusions, or silencing particular experiences. Conversely, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) requires that children access an education that ensures non-discrimination in protection of linguistic and cultural rights, including provision of psychosocial support for conflict-affected children (Nicholai and Triplehorn, 2003).

The acceptance/non-acceptance situation can be related to challenges noted in the wake of multicultural societies like Britain with immigrant communities. For instance, how incoming groups balance preservation of their own heritage and fittingness into the new community is problematic (Kundnani, 2012). Accordingly, conventional liberal integrationist thinking has proceeded along the discourse of certain ‘preferred values’, which supposes that incoming groups need to be forcefully integrated into a set of values consistent with host communities, to guarantee social cohesion. For Kundnani, these values often take a liberal approach, e.g. individualism or open societies, assuming a deficit approach to the values of incoming communities, seeking ‘to civilise them’.

For Nieto (2003), there is a four-level continuum for co-existence in multicultural communities: tolerance; acceptance; respect; and, affirmation, solidarity and critique. ‘Tolerance’ according to Nieto (2003:3) means that difference is endured, not necessarily accepted. So, “*what is tolerated today may be rejected tomorrow.*” While ‘acceptance’ implies that differences and their importance are acknowledged, she perceives ‘respect’ as allowing high esteem for diversity. ‘Respect’ requires that both individual and collective responsibility is emphasised in schools and the school community reforms their practices and structures to include all. Affirmation, solidarity and critique involve accepting the inevitability of conflict due to opposing values from represented groups (see my findings 5.2). Thus, cultural conflict provides a legitimate means to learning, based on the assumptions that culture is not

static and can be critiqued from the perspectives of all groups. While others ask whether social solidarity is incompatible with ethnic diversity (Kundnani, 2012: 157), where a particular group's values take a separatist dimension, jeopardising social cohesion, should also be questioned. For schools and school leadership in this situation, navigating diversity within sharply divided groups can be a daunting task (Dattoo and Johnson, 2013).

In some cases, social-cultural differences tend to breed bullying in schools, by peers or teachers, who may assume the more dominant status [racial, economic, or environmental advantage]. Kum (2011) researched the case of war-related refugees in the UK. He found that many children were racially harassed and that their parents felt powerless in their inability to protect them against school bullying. Negative school relationships not only resulted in adverse socio-emotional challenges for the young people, but further curtailed their participation in extra-curricular activities, often pushing them into finding solace in those with similar attributes. Teachers, according to Kum (p.75), called the new [solace] groups 'gangs' with descriptors such as they are *"intimidating, displaying assertiveness and arrogance ..."* Rather than teachers offering support and empathy, *"these young people are demonised ... as perpetrators of trouble"*.

Such experiences have implications for the moral development of conflict-affected pupils, whose moral values could be distorted (Boyden and Ryder, 1996) as noted earlier, due to dehumanising incidences witnessed or experienced during conflict. In Kenya, some children escaped death narrowly from their 'neighbours' (Kamungi, 2013; UNDP 2011). Some young people also participated in violence (Dattoo and Johnson, 2013) having been hired by politicians (UNDP, 2011). Barakat *et al.* (2012) findings on Kenya indicated that, although teachers were silent about atrocities linked to PEV, fears of conflict in school and communities were clear. Dattoo and Johnson's (2013) research in Kenya (see details in 3.2.5) revealed how youth tribal fighters manifested negative socialisation in schools, threatening teachers and peers and making schools fearful places, because they had learned to kill or exert revenge. This raises significant challenges for schools and school leadership in any attempt to

foster cohesion or counter the imprints of violence for both host and incoming pupils. Fear of ‘others’ nurtures mutual suspicion, with implication for exclusion or reprisal, besides exposing society to more risks in the event of ethnic tensions.

Having discussed the key issues raised by the literature on access and acceptance such as disrupted livelihoods, alienation, fear and teachers’ assumptions about conflict affected children, finally, I now look at how school policies shape inclusion/exclusion for conflict-affected children.

### 2.2.3 School Policies: Including or Excluding?

School policies often shape school practices and learning approaches in ways that can create ‘legitimate’ grounds for nurturing intergroup integration or exclusions (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Smith 2010; Gallagher, 2010), besides making schools potential sites of continuous conflict (Salmi, 2006; Davies, 2010). Government policy oversights can provide windows for discrimination, especially against non-normative groups (Salmi, 2006:11). While schools work with numerous policies, scholars note that some policies are fundamental in post-conflict reconstruction because they impact on day-to-day decisions and operations in school (Davies, 2004; Winthrop and Kirk, 2008; Weinstein *et al.*, 2007). Two policy areas were significant in my case study: policy on i) measurable standards and ii) behaviour management. I discuss each in turn.

#### *i) Measurable Standards*

According to UNICEF (2014:1), international education communities give priority to education for economic productivity and efficiency rather than the promotion of social cohesion and reconciliation. In Kenya, beside the well-documented goals of education that suggest a need for all-inclusiveness (MOE, 2012a:23), the re-alignment of the education sector to the new Kenya Constitution (2010) envisioned education for the young people as having particular characteristics.

*To be internationally competitive and economically viable, the Republic of Kenya requires an education system that will produce citizens who are able to engage in lifelong learning, learn new things quickly, perform*

*more non-routine tasks, capable of more complex problem-solving, take more decisions, understand more about what they are working on, require less supervision, assume more responsibility, and as vital tools to these ends, have better reading, quantitative reasoning and expository skills. (MOE, 2012a:24)*

This positive description of an ambitious nation poses a challenge for schools serving diversity. For instance, there are those who for various reasons may not be quick learners in the examination oriented curriculum, whilst others thrive in collaborative-working requiring some form of supervision. This policy guideline may elevate the place of competitiveness, rather than collaboration in schools, with implications for marginal attention to the less-able learners (Davies, 2005).

Indeed, school improvement agendas have been blamed for centring on measurable test-scores with scant attention to subjects enhancing intergroup co-existence, e.g. peace education, human rights education or global citizenship (UNICEF, 1996; Davies, 2009). Schools in Kenya for instance are expected to ensure that “*recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all*” (UNESS-Kenya, 2010: x). Within this thinking, ‘ability difference’ has become a big issue in moving forward inclusive practices, especially where learners are perceived as ‘less-able’, or have talents outside the core subjects. Yet, after cessation of conflict, some over-age children may arrive in school with no prior exposure to formal education (Sommers, 2002) positioning them as ‘a problem’ in the highly structured and examination-oriented curriculum. Once in school, they may be allocated classes according to their level of academic attainment rather than their age. Often, the psychological and social-cultural alienation resulting from such practices is overlooked (Sommers, 2009). In Kenya, ‘failing’ tests has been associated with grade repetition, in many cases, prompting over-age pupils to drop-out (Somerset, 2007).

In this regard, it is also relevant that in Kenya, children with low scores cannot enrol in particular high-scoring schools because it is considered “*unfair*” to that school (Choti, 2009:314). This results in clearly internalised messages amongst children that failure in exams defines their destiny (see my findings, 5.1.2). As Davies (2010) observes, emphasis on credentials and competitiveness along global standards has

created a dichotomy of losers and winners besides strained social relations in schools and communities. Indeed, in different parts of the globe (Bottery, 2004; Ainscow, Booth and Dyson, 2006; Leo and Burton, 2006; Gunter, 2001/12) including Kenya (UNESCO-IBE, 2010-2011; KIE, 2010/12), test-scores define what and who is valued, posing challenges to inclusion of diversity in regular schools. These sources present the standards agenda as:

- An approach to educational reform which seeks to drive up standards of attainment, including workforce skill level and national competitiveness in a globalised economy.
- Closely linked to other policy aspects that threaten the relationship between government and schools, compromises and restricts the autonomy of teachers in matters of own work.
- Concentrating on the narrow view of attainment through national exams and tests.
- Increasing accountability and formality for school processes and procedures.
- Thriving on target setting, target meeting and surveillance inspections.
- Disengaging schools from their own local communities.

Drawing from the UNESCO-IBE (2010-2011:12-13) report on Kenya:

*Schools burden learners with frequent formative assessment at the expense of learning due to high stakes placed on summative assessment. Centralised curriculum is used in all parts of Kenya... does not take into consideration different needs of learners, impacts theoretical skills at the expense of practical and desired attitudes and values... Teachers, throughout pattern their approaches on the Kenya National Examination Council grid.*

However, Bush and Saltarelli (2000) note that, lack of central control in education has been problematised in some post-conflict regions with ethnically diverse populations. In some cases, teachers have been supposedly abusing their professional discretion, resulting in exam malpractices and unfair grading for non-normative groups (Winthrop and Kirk, 2008). Teachers may also legitimize failure due to prior

prejudiced assumptions about certain pupils (Gorski, 2010) or may participate in examination malpractices to favour certain students as they compete for scarce resources (Choti, 2009). While these malpractices reproduce inequalities and discrimination for those who cannot buy their way up (Winthrop and Kirk, 2008), they also make the examination process lose its credibility as Choti's study established in Kenya.

*The fact that these incidents of examination irregularities take place almost every year, though with differing degrees, they have gradually undermined the credibility of the national examination system (Choti, 2009:315).*

While fear of failure can be counterproductive, e.g. students committing suicide for not attaining high 'acceptable' grades (Salmi, 2006) or cancellation of national exams for 'offenders' as in Kenya (Choti, 2009:316), exam malpractices also indicate how societal construction of 'failure' is detrimental to both the young people and the image of the larger society. As noted above, in Kenya, the government itself has also been implicated in corruption related to examination processes (*ibid.*). Obsession for standards manifests greed to outperform others along narrowed definitions of cognitive competence (Davies, 2005) with possibility that, teaching methods may encourage competition rather than collaboration, limiting peer-support or encouraging alienation of the less-able. Some argue that, for conflict-affected individuals, competition in education tends to be linked with competition for scarce resources in communities, often triggering more violence, e.g. amongst refugees in Kenya (Monaghan, 2015). In cases where competitive examinations become an end in themselves (Sommers, 2009), educational attainment may create a sense of superiority for some over others (Davies, 2004), while failure potentially stigmatises children for life (Salmi, 2006) or risks school disaffection and exclusion for especially over-age conflict-affected learners. As global communities seek to achieve inclusive education for all, scholars maintain that, inclusion and the standards agenda are not necessarily incompatible (Black-Hawkins and Florian, 2011; Ainscow, 2011). My findings in chapter 6 confirm this assertion.

Beyond measurable standards, policies on managing behavioural difficulties also shape exclusion or inclusion for conflict-affected children.

*ii) Policy on Behaviour Management*

Young people in post-conflict settings come to school with profound exposure to social violence and cruelties (UNICEF, 1999) increasing the risk of behavioural challenges. Additionally, when those who commit atrocities and violations against human rights get away with it due to a culture of impunity (HRW, 2013), the violence culture is potentially strengthened in schools (UNICEF-Kenya, 2009). It is also possible that children may have participated in violence for survival (O’Kane *et al.*, 2007) or were forcefully recruited by militias (Earnest, 2013). Exposure to violence may make children get “*used to people dying*” in societies impacting negatively on their resilience (Davies, 2004:111) or nurturing propensity to antisocial behaviours (Sommers, 2002). From a psychological perspective, Davies (2004:115) notes how repeated experiences of violence result in perceiving ‘threat’ as a daily danger, making the brain ‘downshift’ and reduce its creativity and higher order thinking. For others, threat of violence stimulates self-protection habits, e.g. avoiding threatening places like schools (Winthrop and Kirk, 2008), thus self-excluding.

The work of Salmi (2006) and Davies (2010) highlights the ways in which authoritarianism in schools also contributes to propagating violence. Authoritarian practices expose children to a culture of ‘obeying without questioning’, a mechanism employed by violent groups that initiate child soldiers into ethnic violence (Sommers, 2002). When school management is characterised by authoritarian practices, the participation of young people in matters that concern their wellbeing can be compromised (Jwan *et al.*, 2010) and instances of victimisation by teachers or peers ignored. Victimisation “*Makes people see the world as dangerous, making them feel diminished and vulnerable*” to manipulation (Staub, 2007:2) while some may opt for revenge.

With the likelihood that children may exhibit troubled and troublesome behaviour due to exposure to violence or adverse living circumstances (see my findings), modes

adopted in managing behaviour contribute to exclusion or inclusion. Violent modes can legitimise violence or reinforce the assumption that revenge through inflicting pain or suffering is the only means to problem-solve (Davies, 2011). This may be evidenced at school in pupils' aggression towards peers as they revenge any wrongdoing or unfairness (Kum, 2011). To address such behavioural difficulties, the International Convention on the Rights of the Child [CRC] (1989) calls its member countries to outlaw discipline measures that involve violence.

*For children to benefit from education, schools must be run in an orderly way – without the use of violence. Any form of school discipline should take into account the child's human dignity. Therefore, governments must ensure that school administrators review their discipline policies and eliminate any discipline practices involving physical or mental violence, abuse or neglect. (Article 28)*

Kenya is a signatory to this Convention, thus, the government banned corporal punishment in schools in 2001 (Global Initiative to End Corporal Punishment, 2015). However, violent modes of managing discipline are a norm in most parts of Africa and other developing countries (Salmi, 2006). Salmi perceives violence as “*any act that threatens a person's physical or psychological integrity*” and suggests a typology underpinning four modes of violence: direct, indirect, repressive and alienating violence. Corporal punishment is a form of direct violence that inflicts physical hurt, resulting in deliberate injury to the integrity of human life. In Kenya, teachers have traditionally been socialised in ways that uphold corporal punishments. This can involve beatings (Mweru, 2009) if pupils ‘fail’ in examinations or, to motivate them to learn better (Salmi, 2006:2).

In many post-conflict situations, violence may also involve teachers harassing children using stereotypical and degrading language due to post-conflict related frustrations (Nicholai and Triplehorn, 2003). As Staub (2007:1) argues, the end to violence is not likely to change the hostility that gave rise to violence in the first place. Thus, teachers or peers can use language that distances ‘others’ from the majority breeding alienation and endangering a sense of social and cultural belonging (Salmi, 2006) which risks divisions and conflicts in schools (Obura and Bird, 2009).



Indeed, when a school's majority population constitutes former 'victims' of tribal violence, the few speakers of the 'perpetrators' language may experience reversed tribal alienation, creating fault lines for intergroup suspicion or conflicts (Weinstein *et al.*, 2007). This means, addressing behavioural difficulties related peer-association is an essential role for school leadership in post-conflict settings.

While managing socialisation difficulties is problematic because social integration cannot be imposed (Davies, 2004), physical violence in schools might be managed through guidance available in school policies. However, use of violent measures to manage behaviour in the broader community has been found to impact on school operations in Kenyan schools (Mweru, 2010). Mweru's study in Kenya using the Bronfenbrenner ecological model sought to establish why Kenyan teachers still used corporal punishments, e.g. hitting palms or backside (p.2). Her teacher respondents argued that since corporal punishment was banned, pupils started breaking school rules that they previously would obey. Also, teachers' use of corporal punishment was argued to be consistent with African traditional customs (p.8). She concluded that teachers lacked effective non-violent strategies for behaviour management whilst lack of interventions at community level strained teachers' attempts to end this practice. This indicates government's failure to step-up effective measures to address violence beyond schools.

#### *Any Alternative measures?*

Drawing from the CRC (1989):

*There are ways to discipline children that are effective in helping children learn about family and social expectations for their behaviour – ones that are non-violent, are appropriate to the child's level of development and take the best interests of the child into consideration. (Article 19)*

Along this thinking, recent discourses are advocating for restorative justice. Davies (2004:196) observes that restorative justice counters retributive justice to avoid revenge; aiming to address the impact of an offence to the victim, offender and community. This is because, the process of justice can “*deepen societal wounds and*

*conflicts rather than contributing to healing or peace”* (Zehr, 2003:2). Restorative approaches see offender and victim participate in repairing relationships through collaboration and reformation of offenders (Davies, 2004). Zehr (2003) sees the approach transcending mediation, forgiveness or reduction of offences, to activating a bottom up approach where communities dialogue, addressing the needs of victims and encouraging offenders to take responsibility. Yet this has been critiqued. In schools, the process of pinpointing victims and offenders may be blurred (Davies, 2004). Recurrent direct or indirect violence by teachers or peer-to-peer may see pupils retaliating to assert their self-image (especially in unreported cases). Others argue that involvement of peers in restorative measures is difficult because:

*Schools are essentially hierarchical institutions where disciplinary procedures are rigidly established and documented ... empowering pupils to participate in resolving conflicts involves altering the locus of control ... teachers are taught how to maintain discipline not to resolve conflict ... peer mediation [suggests] a system of weak discipline. (Stewart 1998:88)*

Nevertheless, Hopkins (2003:4) outlines some areas of strengths of this approach in schools. For instance, instead of practitioners emphasising on breaking school rules, parties centre on harm done to others; penalties by school authorities are replaced by cooperative dialogue and negotiation; and instead of blaming or pronouncing guilt, problem-solving enables expressing feelings and needs, and exploring ways to meet them in future. In post-conflict environments, this may need going beyond classrooms (Smith 2010) into whole school communities. Yet, how school leadership can adopt non-violent measures to address inclusion-exclusion incidents in settings permeated with violence like Kenya needs investigation.

From the preceding discussions, exposure to violence seems to require initiatives that support pupils towards unlearning violence or demilitarising the mind (Bush and Saltarelli (2000). In chapter 6, evidence reveals how the discussed needs and challenges were responded to, towards promoting inclusive cultures for conflict-affected children.

## **2.3 Conclusions**

This review has explored the literature on the learning and development needs of children in post-conflict schools and challenges inherent in meeting these needs. The concept of inclusion is depicted as contested and contextual, having journeyed from segregation, integration and inclusion into response to diversity. I have highlighted common dilemmas inherent in actualising inclusion, e.g. needs-based approaches. The key issues raised by this review relate to how teachers' critical awareness of the needs of conflict-affected children facilitates relevant and responsive experiences to their state of affairs. School policies are potential barriers to inclusion while practices in the broader society can compound school dilemmas. Although commentators' current understandings in restorative practices propose dignified and collaborative means to conflict-resolution in schools, the role of social-cultural beliefs, structural arrangements and unenforced policies potentially inhibit teachers' attempts at changing the status quo. While this review has raised several pertinent issues, the key questions can be summed up into two:

- a) How might conflict-affected pupils perceive their own learning and development needs in post-conflict education?
- b) What challenges are inherent in meeting these needs for schools and school leadership in actuality?

These questions are answered in chapter 5. In my next chapter, I analyse literature on school leadership to establish how leadership practice might be advanced and leadership roles negotiated in order to respond to these needs and challenges, thus foregrounding my findings.

## **CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Leadership: Nature of Practice and Roles for School Leaders**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

In chapter 2, I discussed theoretical underpinnings on inclusive education with particular interest on post-conflict education. I examined the learning and development needs of young people in post-conflict circumstances, and the challenges faced by schools and school leadership in addressing issues related to access, acceptance and school policies. By reflecting on this review, the following overarching question emerged: “How can school leadership practice be moved forward towards meeting the complex learning and development needs of conflict-affected children, and what roles emerge for school leaders in negotiating post-conflict schooling challenges in actuality?”

In chapter 3, I aim to examine extant literature to conceptualise particularly, how school leadership practice might be understood beyond traditional single-leader paradigms in post-conflict situations in Kenya, and, the roles emerging for school leadership in responding to key issues raised in chapter 2. This chapter has two sections. In section one, I first provide a brief introduction problematising leadership in post-conflict schooling, before highlighting competing debates on leadership, management and administration. I suggest that, while lack of clarity in defining these notions creates possibility for ambiguity in day-to-day school operations, leadership has attracted much attention across global communities in regard to school reforms (TSC, 2007; Gunter, 2012), and in this study, for post-conflict reconstruction. I then analyse historical underpinnings of school leadership in Kenya, questioning how dominant single-leader paradigms might evolve towards more collaborative and conflict-sensitive arrangements. Having encountered elements of shared leadership in my case study school, I discuss theoretical underpinnings to ‘shared leadership’ with aspects of ‘teacher leadership’ to foreground and make-sense of understandings from the field (Crang and Cook, 1995).

In section two, my aim is to situate my study (Silverman, 2006) in the emerging field of post-conflict education (Clarke and O'Donoghue, 2013). To arrange my argument, I draw three major ideas from the work of Davies (2004) which I found insightful in making-sense of post-conflict reconstruction in my Kenyan case. These include: reconstruction of governance, relationships, and learning cultures. Secondly, I reflect on selected empirical evidence on leadership, inclusion and post-conflict education. In so doing, I highlight a theoretical knowledge gap to which my study makes a contribution to the field.

Essentially, in any complex area of study where research is still scant, such as school leadership in post-conflict education (Clarke and O'Donoghue, 2013), framing literature becomes problematic. Consequently, to capture different aspects of this study, I synthesise theoretical and empirical literature, drawing on discourses on leadership and management, inclusive and post-conflict education, from both global and Kenyan perspectives. I do so firstly because literature on school leadership in Kenya in relation to non-traditional models of leadership, is only just emerging, offering limited scope to explore both implicit and explicit possibilities to leadership initiatives in turbulent circumstances. Secondly, leadership practice in Kenya purportedly borrows from Eurocentric underpinnings building of her colonial past (Otunga, Serem and Kindiki, 2008). In terms of leadership and inclusion, available literature in Kenya mainly centres on the narrower SEN discourse (Gongera *et al.*, 2013) while discussion of leadership in post-conflict education is (at the time of writing) only evidenced by Dato and Johnson (2013). Similarly, whilst general African indigenous perspectives on leadership are instructive in especially value-based orientations (Masango, 2002) which have been argued to support inclusiveness (Ainscow *et al.*, 2006), much of school leadership discourse in Africa nests on colonial-based (Eurocentric) foundations (Kiggundu, 1991; Serem, Kindiki and Otunga, 2008; Hallam *et al.*, 2009; Msila, 2014; Gupta and Wart, 2016) besides Africa's heterogeneity with its regional differences (Nkomo, 2006). Nevertheless, Msila (2014:1) identifies some flatter Eurocentric approaches as overlapping with African models featuring "*universal values*", e.g. shared or participative approaches. Thus, this chapter integrates these models to critique the Kenyan practice.

### 3.1.1 Leadership in Post-Conflict Schooling: Background

It has been argued that school leadership is central in implementing educational reforms like inclusive education (MOE, 2008b; Ainscow, 2011). In post-conflict settings, arguably, beyond ‘commonplace’ reforms, school leaders are expected to reverse the effects of violence whilst engaging in social reconstruction of war-torn communities (World Bank, 2005). This constitutes meeting the learning and development needs of violence-affected children (UNICEF-Kenya, 2010; WC-EFA, 1990) alongside government and NGO agendas. The question is: Are there existing approaches to leadership practice that can sufficiently respond to these complex demands and how do school leaders mediate inclusive cultures when schools, as societal-based organisations, are emerging from violence?

Schools as social organisations tend to structure their activities to reflect the needs of their members and their functions as organisations; laying-out school organisational structures and shaping operations to meet environmental concerns (Dembowski, 2006; Gorton, Snowden and Alston, 2007). Yet, the *“twin mandate of reform and reconstruction offers both significant opportunities and enormous challenges to societies emerging from conflict”* (World Bank, 2005: xii). Arguably, schools are trapped in the dysfunctionalities of the broader society; teachers bearing society’s ills in day-to-day encounters with affected members whilst being affected themselves. While leaders are expected to meet the expectations of their society (UNESCO, 2009), during conflict such expectations are in disarray and can be skewed towards political indoctrination. However, *“committed leadership”* is required to facilitate transformation and repair of fragmented communities whether they contributed to conflict or not (World Bank, 2005:14). Paradoxically, roles for school leadership often conflict with those of the more ‘outstanding’ national-political leaders, who are broadly perceived as the crux of all ills related to violence (Weinstein *et al.*, 2007; Staub, 2014). Moreover, schools may engage in reversing the impact of violence through adapting leadership structures, mediating relationships and enhancing students’ social capital (Jaya, 2103), but whether headteachers can single-handedly

counter the “*reproduction, amplification and hardening of ethnic divisions*” (Davies, 2005:2) remains unclear.

In Kenya, school leadership is largely perceived and practiced as hierarchical with headteachers dominating leadership (Jwan *et al.*, 2010; Cullen, Keraro and Wamutitu, 2012) and mainly operating as managers (MOE, 2012a/b). Yet, a recent study in Kenya on leadership in post-conflict education suggested that a different approach is needed if schools are to meet pupils’ learning and development needs in such contexts (Dattoo and Johnson, 2013). This, in part, is because education in post-conflict environments entails “*de-segregating*” and “*de-militarising the mind*” of the young people, which goes beyond ‘ordinary’ pedagogic instructions (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000:16/28). In such circumstances, the ‘leadership load’ is arguably too heavy for headteachers to bear alone (MacBeath, 2009:41). However, whether the leadership load is eased or not depends on the headteacher’s understandings of the realities of context and individual commitment to transformation in fragmented communities. From MacBeath’s perspective (above), along with understandings of the practical realities evidenced in the case study school, I explore how leadership practice in post-conflict school-life might be advanced beyond single-leaders paradigms, reiterating Davies’ (2005) concern: How might leaders move schools forward when entangled in conflict? Throughout, I argue that adaptability and sensitivity to the community’s needs and heritage, rather than rigidity in approaches, practices and roles, opens up possibilities when facing challenges from societal instability in Kenyan schools. This echoes Smith’s (2010:2) argument that education and conflict should target those “*aspects of education that could become sources of grievance and conflict amongst groups.*” In order to build a foundation for that exploration, it is necessary to first conceptualise the term leadership and its links to the terms management and administration.

### 3.1.2 Leadership, Management and Administration: Unpacking the Terms

The terms leadership, management and administration are closely linked in describing the organisational work of practitioners who occupy formal positions in schools (Bolam, 1999; Bush, 2011). According to Gunter (2001) and Dembowski

(2006), the use of these terms reflects context, place and time, somewhat indicating paradigm shifts. In Britain, Bolam (1999:194) perceives administration as “*superordinate*” capturing the broader field of educational practice, generically covering educational policy, leadership and management at all levels. Conversely, Bush and Bell (2002:3) view management as representing the broader range of activities in running educational institutions, an “*overarching concept where leadership is subsumed*”. Within this perspective, administration narrowly refers to activities of civil servants, local officers and the routine clerical and financial functions of schools. For Gunter (2001:47), “*what we now call leadership is what we used to call management and prior to that educational administration*”, which indicates the contested nature of these terms.

Some see managers as those, “*utilizing existing structures or procedures to achieve organisational goals*” (Gorton, Alston and Snowden, 2007:6) or executing routines and maintaining organisational stability (Grint, 2005), whilst leaders purportedly initiate change for improvement within organisations (Cuban, 1988; Gronn, 2003a). However, strong management can create bureaucracy without purpose and strong leadership can disrupt order without improvement (Yukl, 2002:5). Yet, both involve deciding what needs to be done, creating networks of relationships and undertaking organisational tasks (Yukl, 2002:6). Although leadership is linked to change (Cuban, 1988; Bush, 2011) it can preserve status quo or resist change (Spillane, 2006). What is commonly agreed throughout the literature is that school management directly links to authority conveyed through hierarchies, position and formal relationships, while leadership and its influence is more fluid and occurs beyond formally recognised positions or authority (Yukl, 2002; Jwan and Ong’ondo, 2011). Indeed, informal leaders do not necessarily have authority conveyed upon them, whereas managers with conferred authority may not necessarily be recognised as leaders.

Reviewing African school leadership, Hallam *et al.* (2009) explain that leadership discourses in Africa underpin functional aspects of leading such as planning, management and supervision, identifying an overlap in the use of the terms leadership, management and administration. In Kenya, the three terms are used



interchangeably in literature, policy and practice; often suggesting ambiguity both in distinguishing the terms and in the embedded and expanded scope of operations expected of educational personnel. For instance, in schools, management involves “*planning, organizing, and coordination in delivering educational services*” (MOE 2012b:171). Headteachers as managers are expected to exhibit “*effective leadership and integrity*” (ibid.) being “*lead administrators*” (TSC Act, 2012:5). They also form school governance structures (School Management Committees):

*Providing policy leadership, oversight and strategic guidance on management of resources and delivery of services...formulation and implementation of sound policies and regulations. (MOE 2012b:171)*

Although headteachers in Kenya are seen as managers of schools (Lodiaga, 1990), who conduct their traditional role of acquiring and effectively allocating resources and curriculum delivery towards passing national examinations (Dattoo and Johnson, 2013), their role is much more complex in practice. This perhaps helps to explain why some scholars use the terms interchangeably (Kibet *et al.*, 2012; Mwamuye *et al.*, 2012; Rono *et al.*, 2013; Ayiro, 2014), some arguing that leadership and management are twin-terms, and that the success of school managers is in part attributed to leadership capability (Musera, Achoka and Mugasia, 2012). But Jwan and Ong’ondo (2011:398), conceptualising leadership on the basis of “*influence, visions and values*” and considering “*goal-setting, visioning and motivation,*” argue that leadership is a “*higher order notion*” perhaps because leaders can influence people within, and beyond school. In contrast, they conceptualise management as of lower order because it involves maintenance of performance through co-ordination, supervision and control within schools. From this perspective, headteachers are managers who utilise leadership and administration in the management of schools. Their management role stands prominently, being recognised within established government legislation and holding them to account for the effective use of scarce resources (Lodiaga, 1990; MOE, 2012b).

Whereas headteachers’ effective use of scarce resources is crucial (*ibid*), it can be argued that without recognition of pupils’ multiple deprivations in post-conflict

circumstances, equitable allocation of available resources would be problematic, inhibiting pupils' day-to-day learning (Davies, 2013). Moreover, in post-conflict times teachers and their competences "*are the most critical resource in education reconstruction*" (World Bank, 2005: xviii) and how schools engage teachers' capacities determine the degree of 'reconstruction' (Mazawi, 2008) in classrooms.

Essentially, despite locational and contextual variations, the term leadership has attracted much attention globally since the 1990s (Bush, 2011), management being the previously preferred term. Whilst recognising the intersection of these three terms with their discrete and complementary functions, having critiqued the literature and reflected on field practices, I perceive 'leadership' as emerging in the "*lived organisation*" (Spillane and Coldren, 2011:96), assumed or intuitively exercised (MacBeath, 2009) or diffused through interactional processes (Yukl, 2002). Though some take its presence for granted (Gronn, 2003a) or expect it to manifest in particular prescribed ways, it is possible that teachers may not necessarily embrace leadership outwardly (Duignan and Bezzina, 2006) despite exercising it implicitly or informally (Donaldson, 2006). As my findings show, headteachers may licence leadership by formally legitimising teachers' actions to respond to organisational goals (Gunter, 2005) or teachers may engage in leadership initiatives on perceiving themselves as community leaders. Within the Kenyan post-conflict school context, I concur with Simkins' (2005:1) view that "*making sense of things is at least as important as seeking what works*". Such sense making begins with a clearer definition of leadership.

### 3.1.3 Defining Leadership: Who Leads, How, and for What Purpose?

How individuals understand the notion of 'leadership' shapes its practise considerably (Bolden and Kirk, 2006; Torrance, 2012). Bush (2007) maintains that there is no agreed definition of the concept, whilst Yukl (2002:2) perceives that definitions are as numerous as the people who attempt to define the term. Leadership has been defined in multiple terms such as traits, behaviours, abilities, influences, interactions, roles, relationships or positions (*ibid*), or other processes such as persuasion or power relationships (Spillane, 2006:10). However, many definitions

embrace the aspect of ‘influence’ with variations depicting who does the influencing, or the purpose and outcomes of influence (*ibid*). Yukl (2002:2) is often cited, defining leadership as “*a social process whereby intentional influence is exerted by one person over other people to structure the activities and relationships in a group or organisation*”. Similarly, Northouse (2001:2-3) defines leadership as a “*process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a goal*”. Later, Northouse (2007) describes leadership as a relationship based on interactions between the leader and followers, creating reciprocal influences on either party, contextualised through the circumstances in which this relationship occurs. Bush (2008) perceives leadership as embracing three elements: ‘vision’ involving setting goals and directions; ‘influence’ as a neutral process, and ‘values’ linked to strong personal and professional beliefs. Offering a general perspective to African indigenous leadership [AIL], Masango (2002) views leadership as involving interpersonal influence or persuasion, guiding members towards some goals, ensuring some form of hierarchy, and communally sharing leadership with members.

However, each of these definitions is problematic. If leadership is a social influence, then it becomes important to consider: “*whose influence... for what purpose?*” (Torrance, 2013b:365) and in what circumstances? Additionally, is the purpose to influence colleagues, pupils or communities towards transformation? (Crowther, 2008) Or meeting external demands against local needs? (Oduol, 2014) Does influence target student academic outcomes only (Timperly, 2009) or perhaps reversing the effects of violence? (World Bank, 2005; Mazawi, 2008) For Bush (2008:4), the “*influence process is neutral*” in that it does not necessarily define the goals or actions to be pursued. Yukl (2002) perceives the purpose of influence as controversial with regard to outcomes and ethics, cautioning that influence should not be detrimental to followers. He adds that followers evaluate any influence in terms of whether it is consistent with the basic values, principles and traditions of the social system, thus committing to, complying with or refusing it. Indeed, leadership acts have multiple motives and sometimes even good intentions have a detrimental effect. Spillane (2006) argues that focusing simply on the positive outcomes of influence fails to recognise that leaders can also do harm. Besides, where outcomes

of leadership influence are not directly measurable, e.g. inculcating inclusive ethos in post-conflict communities, it may not be assumed that leadership influence is non-existent. Furthermore, some view influence as residing in individuals enacting ‘specialised roles’ (leaders versus followers) while others locate it within shared processes (Yukl, 2002). Spillane and Coldren (2011) locate leadership influence within information-seeking behaviour between and amongst colleagues who form interactive networks, i.e. teacher dyads, triads, clusters and whole-school interactions shaping day-to-day and moment-by-moment school leadership decisions and actions.

Spillane (2006) maintains that a focus on leadership influence should target the activities related to the “*core work of the organisation*” and what its members envision as influencing their knowledge, affect, motivation and practices within their working relationships (pp.11-12). However, the process of influencing members through envisioning a preferred future is also contested, with some arguing that visions are headteacher-generated or state prescribed (Bottery, 2004; Bush, 2007), rather than developing through educators working with children and their communities (Gunter, 2012).

Given the contested nature of leadership constructions across literature and the limited literature available in the Kenyan context especially on shared leadership, in chapter 6 and 7 of the thesis, I will analyse the practice of leadership in pursuing reconstruction in post-conflict circumstances. In so doing, I will seek to understand whether leadership influence resides in specialised roles or shared processes or both. In order to contextualise that exploration, I trace the development of school leadership in Kenya showing how single-leader paradigms limit attention to local realities; straining school relationships and inhibiting collaborative cultures necessary for inculcating inclusive practices in post-conflict situations.

#### 3.1.4 Development of School Leadership in Kenya: Single-Leader Paradigm versus Local Realities

Kenya’s history of school leadership, management and administration traces back to the scientific management models inherited from her British colonial legacy (Otunga,

Serem and Kindiki, 2008). These models underpin hierarchical, bureaucratic and single-leader paradigms, being informed by rationality, impersonal relationships, rules and control in ways that constrain human relationships (Hoy and Miskel, 1987; 2008). The colonial legacy according to Kiggundu (1991) destroyed all elements of African leadership before institutionalising colonial administration. This resulted in a distancing of African administrators from their communities and heritage, promoting individualism which favoured colonial rulership. Similar to Ghana (Swaffield and MacBeath, 2013), subsequent attempts by post-colonial government in Kenya to prepare educational leaders to pick up from where colonial administrators left have been characterised by i) response to management of resources to address economic challenges left behind by colonial exploitation (Ngara, 2007) and ii) filling the management skills-gap because Africans were untrained to take on the posts left by outgoing settlers (Kiggundu, 1991). Moreover, the few trained administrators available aligned themselves with the values, ideologies and culture of the colonisers (Nkomo, 2008). It is possible to argue that, having been socialised in colonial regimes where the headmaster traditionally carried the ultimate say (Gunter, 2001:22), headteachers' attempts at reverting to indigenous community-oriented thinking have been compromised, producing conflict in cultures and perspectives to community life. Agreeing with Swaffield and MacBeath (2013:2), this requires *"leadership with confidence to challenge much of established thinking and practice"*. Meanwhile, single-leader paradigms dominate in many Kenyan schools to date (Cullen, Keraro and Wamutitu, 2012), often distanced from realities of context: in practice, policy and training programs as discussed next.

In 1981, the Kenya Education Staff Institute (KESI) was established in order to train administrative staff and school principals. However, school principals' training was provided on a seminar and workshop basis during school holidays (Lodiaga, CEO, KESI, 1990) and is still the case today (Asuga and Eacott, 2012). The fundamental principles of their training centred on a stable society as opposed to *"unplanned and uncontrolled changes that give rise to mobile and unstable settlements not conducive to educational delivery systems planned for settled communities and individuals"* (Lodiaga, p.3). Working within such training prescription, headteachers became less-

equipped to address unplanned and uncontrolled circumstances, e.g. post-conflict turbulence in this case, whilst their training often translated into bureaucratic leadership structures. For instance, in 1991, the Koech Commission (also called, *Totally Integrated Quality Education and Training*) acknowledged that bureaucratic structures were characterised by poor communication channels and purportedly increased student indiscipline, unrest and teachers' detachment from school affairs. The commission report required headteachers to foster organic structures allowing for “*open, democratic, collaborative and participatory working systems*” (Jwan *et al.*, 2010:249). Despite policy documentation, school leadership remained headteachers' business (*ibid*).

In 2001, a countrywide wave of student unrest necessitated a re-examination of school leadership practices, with the government setting-up the ‘Task Force on Student Indiscipline and Unrest’. This emphasised democratic practices and discouraged the rigid hierarchical structures that were purportedly causing deteriorating relationships between school administrators, teachers and students, resulting in violence (Republic of Kenya, 2001). At this point, school leadership was required to foster consensus-building, ensuring harmony through participative and collaborative approaches (Jwan *et al.* 2010). Yet, Jwan and Ong’ondo (2011:404) contend that headteachers lacked proper training in addressing evolving societal challenges, with most principals adopting intuitive approaches to enact change towards addressing students’ and teachers’ alienation. Although government commissions were concerned with changing societal complexities, KESI’s training majored on managerial tasks (mainly finance management) rather than equipping headteachers with skills to address difficulties, or, to develop teachers as leaders for learning (Jwan and Ong’ondo, 2011). This ‘deficit’ nature of training would explain why principals found school leadership a daunting task after PEV in Kenya (Dattoo and Johnson, 2013).

In 2012, the ‘Task Force on Re-alignment of Education to the new Kenya Constitution’ (MOE, 2012) spelled-out the role of headteachers/principals as that of facilitating participative, collaborative, and collective leadership and management,

involving teachers, students and parents. Yet, there have been concerns about acute student indiscipline linked to rigid school management (Ayiro, 2014) as well as impunity of political leaders after PEV (UNICEF-Kenya, 2010). Besides, Choti (2009) and Oduol (2014) studies noted the moral and ethical dilemmas faced by school leaders in inculcating shared standards and principles about good conduct; citing how political/government interference in schools compromised schools' attempts at building and reinforcing shared values. The argument is that students and teachers tend to associate headteachers' rigid management with the country's political dysfunctionalities, further straining school relationships and narrowing chances for collaborative or inclusive cultures. Indeed, how headteachers, who have historically inherited authoritarian working frameworks amidst climates of political aggression and individualism (Hughes, 2011), can facilitate collaborative and inclusive cultures seems problematic. Conversely, assuming that headteachers can foster learning and inclusiveness in fragmented school communities single-handedly is simplistic. However, for the collaborative and conflict-sensitive headteachers, system-wide accountability with high stake competitions in examinations may predispose them to exert control on operations and relationships to meet government's demands (Oduol, 2014). In contrast, Gronn (2003b) argues that headteachers need recognition that much of what they do is not just about external demands, but reflects their personal interests and experiences.

The CEO of Kenya Teachers Service Commission (which oversees the deployment of teachers and headteachers) asserts, "*an institution stands or falls by its head*" (Mr Lengoiboni, CEO, TSC-Kenya, 2007:3). Yet, it is also possible to argue that, despite this level of accountability for headteachers in Kenyan schools, how they interpret and relate to the realities of their working context also contributes to their approaches and roles, determining an institution's 'standing' or 'falling' in turbulent times.

Lately, scholarship and policy have indicated a need for the re-conceptualisation of leadership to allow responsiveness to social-cultural, economic and political changes in the society. For Otunga, Serem and Kindiki, (2008), educational systems today require that leaders are equipped with competencies and attitudes to tackle their new

roles within changing societal climates. For example, Jwan *et al.*'s (2010) study of 'democratic school leadership reforms in Kenya' in secondary schools found that teachers were increasingly aware of democratic principles being advocated for in society, pushing principals into re-adjustment of solo-leadership approaches. Jwan *et al.* found that, some headteachers had started responding to societal changes, creating room for participation in decision-making, collective management and establishing favourable conditions for respectful relationships amongst all. These principals were reportedly involving students in school affairs in ways that responded to their needs, thus addressing school disaffection. Such responses for Otunga (2009:3) would require re-thinking school leadership in terms of issues of social justice arguing, "*the issues on social justice are evolving at a very slow pace*" while headteachers have many opportunities to promote appreciation of diversity as they interact with different communities in schools. Issues of social justice are more relevant in post-conflict school-life where schools reproduce, exacerbate or normalise exclusions of vulnerable children within everyday decisions or omissions (Davies, 2005). Importantly, whilst headteachers play a central role in articulating school-level policy for such marginalised groups (Theoharis, 2007) inclusion-exclusion practices are fundamentally located in classroom relationships (Ruairc *et al.*, 2013) where reinforcement or disruption of exclusionary practices might be combated through teacher leadership.

Moreover, the Ministry of Education has emphasised that education should be tailored to meet diverse needs beyond current provisions, e.g. ensuring inclusive, quality and relevant learning (MOE, 2008b); entrepreneurship and life-long learning and inculcation of moral values (MOE, 2012b). These proposals are timely for post-conflict circumstances, however, while school leaders are expected to articulate these goals in practice (Jwan *et al.*, 2010; MOE, 2012a), how to enact these purposes within rigid structures that distance headteachers from post-conflict realities (Dattoo and Johnson, 2013) remains unclear.

Overall for Kenya, Ayiro and Sang (2010) suggest that global and societal dynamism requires educational institutions to utilise human assets situated within them,



encouraging collaboration amongst teachers if school leadership is to respond to the challenges in societies. Accordingly, leadership calls for teamwork, communities of learning and good communication towards fostering quality, creativity and integration. In this way, educational leadership and management adopt responsive structures to meet local needs alongside global changes. Additionally, while the new discourse of devolved governance, seeking to “*transfer decision-making capacity from higher levels in an organization to lower levels*” sounds promising in destabilising existing leadership regimes; Sihanya (2011:7) critiques its complications in actuality. He argues that politicisation of education within ‘devolution of governance’ is compromising quality and relevance in education imposing misplaced objectives and priorities. Generally, how school leadership might be understood beyond the headteacher/principal in Kenya has received little attention, as management of resources takes centre stage, even during societal violence and conflict.

Using insights from global scholarship, I now suggest how leadership might be perceived beyond single-leader paradigms in Kenya.

### 3.1.5 Moving beyond Single-Leader Paradigms

Evolution, expansion and uncertainty in societies has generated numerous ways of characterising leadership (Bottery, 2004). In many educational institutions across the globe (Bush, 2008; 2011) including Africa (Nkomo, 2006) and Kenya (Ayiro and Sang, 2010), the operations and activities of senior practitioners have been influenced by models that were first applied in commerce and industry in the USA. However, these models were later challenged for being distanced from education:

*We are still guilty of borrowing perspectives, models, concepts and even theories from the world of industry and commerce ... our understandings of educational management are ... derived from a non-educational framework and this is a weakness, both from the conceptual analysis ... and in terms of our credibility with practitioners in schools and colleges. (Bell, 1991, cited in Bush 2008: 271)*

Nevertheless, identifying “*whether educational leadership is a distinct field or simply a branch of the wider study of management*” (Bush, 2007:1) is problematic. Some claim that educational leadership has yielded to political manipulation and market-oriented thinking, distancing it from “*working with children living real lives*” (Gunter, 2012:22). This thinking perpetuates hero-leadership which is distanced from today’s societal realities (Gronn, 2003). If such models are distanced from working with children in ‘ordinary schools’, it can be argued that the disconnection would be greater for conflict-affected children in turbulent circumstances. Furthermore, citing Bates (1983), Crowther *et al.* (2009:29) show how this perspective of educational administration controls through theories, concepts and organising systems, limiting individuality, community and democracy necessary for developing teacher leadership. To be more responsive to school situations, contingency approaches have been recommended (Peretomode, 2012).

Contingency approaches acknowledge the challenges and characteristics of individuals in schools and their working contexts; leadership styles and behaviours being influenced by situational variables, such as school-size and teacher characteristics (Peretomode, 2012). However, this perspective tends to locate the individual headteacher as acting outside ‘situations’. Spillane (2006:22) differentiating ‘situation’ in ‘contingency’ and contemporary ‘distributed’ perspectives argues that “*situations are not simply a context that leaders practice ... it shapes leadership from the inside out, rather than from the outside in*”. This implies that headteachers and their contexts interact reciprocally and are not stand-alone elements. Indeed, post-conflict circumstances often find headteachers, teachers, pupils, and their communities tangled in adversity (Mazawi, 2008; Goddard, 2015), collectively bearing complex needs derived from human conflict (Dattoo and Johnson, 2013; Jaya, 2013).

For others, transformational leadership appears to theoretically move beyond single-leader paradigms. It features collaboration and sensitivity to relations through:

- **Direction setting:** building a shared vision, consensus about goals and high expectations.
- **Developing people:** through individualised support, intellectual stimulation, modelling values and practices.
- **Redesigning the organisation:** through building culture, creating and maintaining shared vision and building relationships with the community (Gunter, 2001: 69-70).

Whereas influencing commitment through emotional stimulation is vital (*ibid.*), the focus on only one individual influencing social and cultural change (Crowther *et al.*, 2009:29) makes transformational leadership easily conflated with charismatic leadership in unhelpful ways (Bottery, 2004). For example, originating from business models, transformational leadership entailed technique rather than the purpose of leadership, and predetermined visions rather than participatory vision-generation. Naive importation would regress practice into business orientation (Gunter, 2001; Bottery, 2004) rendering it insufficient in capturing multi-dimensional webs of leaders' interactions in pursuing post-conflict reconstruction. Importantly, after conflicts, leadership is expected to engage in reconstruction (World Bank, 2005) which goes beyond techniques towards reciprocity and mutuality. Even so, this construction of leadership reveals that educational processes benefit from group commitment and shared values, echoing aspects of teacher leadership (Crowther *et al.*, 2009:30).

Lately, leadership has been perceived as collective (Avolio *et al.*, 2009) distributed or shared (Harris, 2003; Oduro, 2004; Pearce, Conger and Locke, 2007; MacBeath, 2009) or, an organisation-wide quality where all members can participate or lead in groups (Ogawa and Bossert, 1995). Leadership can be stretched over multiple others through assigned roles or interactive networking (Spillane, 2006) thus recognising the contributions of all (Duignan and Bezzina, 2006). It can also emerge through concerted effort where group synergy is greater than individual parts (Gronn, 2003b). Others propose collegiality alongside participative, transformational and distributed perspectives (Bush, 2011), or collegiality as “*engaging expertise whenever it exists*”

in organisations (Harris, 2004:13). That means, going beyond fixed leadership tasks, functions or responsibilities, to developing actions and interactions from dialogue during problem-solving. Such constructions challenge the single-leader paradigm through recognising leadership as situated in practice, i.e. within interactions rather than acts of individuals (Spillane, 2006), thus, approving the contribution of others in guiding, directing or enacting leadership. Spillane asserts, “*whoever exercises influence on another in regard to the direction the school is taking is a leader*” (p. 33). For Pearce, Conger and Locke (2007:281), shared leadership involves “a dynamic, interactive influence process among individuals in groups for which the objective is to lead one another to the achievement of group or organizational goals or both”.

Thus, beyond single-leader paradigms, leadership may exist as “*an interactive process of sense making and creation of meaning*” within which, all members of the organisation are engaged (Harris, 2003:314). Gronn (2003b) and MacBeath (2009) do not see this phenomenon [distribution/sharing] as new. Gronn compares it to previous conceptualisations of division of labour in the managerial theories of the early 1900’s, whilst Macbeth traces it to Jethro’s council to Moses, on sharing leadership roles. Gronn (2009) also calls it ‘hybridity’ where distribution recognises formal and informal positions, or, in Andrew and Crowther’s (2002:154) terms, principals and teachers work in parallel based on “*trust, respect, shared sense of directionality and allowance for self-expression*”.

While the move towards shared/distributed forms of leadership sounds motivating for pursuing inclusive practices (Leo and Burton, 2006), Gronn (2006) has identified its underlying conceptual confusion while Leithwood *et al.* (2009:223) argue that systematic evidence on its contribution in school organisations “*is virtually non-existent*”. Besides, perspectives that position leadership as sharing power, authority and influence are contested (Bottery, 2004; Gunter, 2005; Bush, 2011; Torrance, 2013) some arguing that recognising everybody within the school organisation as a leader weakens its unique meaning and significance (Leithwood, 2006). Conversely, shared perspectives call on headteachers to locate leadership in teachers’ leadership

capacities (Jackson, 2003: xvi), thus influencing learning in the lived organisation (Spillane and Coldren, 2011). Today, teacher leadership rests on this argument.

### 3.1.6 Teacher Leadership: Implicit or Explicit?

Looking beyond solo-leadership implies the need to re-examine how teachers enact or become involved in leadership (Crowther, 2008). The growing attention being paid to teacher leadership derives from claims that school leadership is second only to classroom teaching in exerting an influence on student outcomes (Leithwood *et al.*, 2006); seeking to combine teaching plus leadership for school improvement. Indeed, Hargreaves and Fullan (2012: xii) posit that teachers “*really matter*” in affecting children’s learning and development, more than other factors inside school. Accordingly, teachers provide transformative forces necessary for changing students and whole societies.

Despite such claims, understandings of teacher leadership are still comparatively new. Katzenmeyer and Moller (2001:5) note that confusions about expectations and definitions of teacher leadership abound. For instance, some questions on teacher leadership have emerged such as: do teachers lead in classrooms or beyond or should they shift from classroom to administrative tasks (Katzenmeyer and Moller, 2001)? Is their leadership given or emergent? For Danielson (2006:5), teacher leaders may not see the “*inseparability of school and communities,*” making them exercise leadership in any area of school life, mainly informally. Importantly, they often demonstrate excellence in teaching and learning, having the right skills and dispositions to bring about change (*Ibid.*). They respond to challenges within and beyond the school walls (Crowther *et al.*, 2009) whilst influencing others through relationships, communities of learning, experimenting with new ideas and exhibiting the behaviour they advocate (Katzenmeyer and Moller, 2001). Crowther (2009:3) perceives teacher leaders as articulating convictions about a better future for all their students, confronting barriers in school cultures, such as working with administrators towards equity, fairness and justice for especially disadvantaged groups. As Spillane (2006:48) argues, recognising teachers in leadership utilises:

- Human capital: skills, expertise and capabilities of different individuals.
- Social capital: social networks, collaboration, team-work and relations.
- Cultural capital: different ways of being and doing, and interactive styles.
- Economic capital: resources, funds or materials needed to pursue certain aims.

Yet, mobilisation of ‘capital’ embodied in teachers has been marred by what Hargreaves and Fullan (2012) terms contrived collegiality. This means, rather than developing teachers professional capital (i.e. individual talents, social and decisional competencies) to support themselves and their students more effectively, the focus [of headteachers] is on manipulating teachers into complying with externally imposed requirements or delivering external visions. While headteachers play a central role in distribution of leadership to teachers (Torrance, 2013a) or delineating parameters for leadership (Gunter, 2005), teacher leadership is not necessarily sanctioned by principals and can arise variously (MacBeath, 2009). Still, teachers may be unable or unwilling to take on leadership roles (Torrance, 2013a) as prescribed by others (Leo and Burton, 2006). This suggests possibilities for innovative leadership amongst teachers following emergent concerns in day-to-day practice (Danielson, 2006) especially during post-conflict upheavals where societal and government structures have collapsed (Mazawi, 2008). This may help to explain what Crowther (2008) identifies as the variability and strength of teacher leadership in influencing pupils, teachers and communities along ethical lines:

*Teacher leadership is essentially an ethical stance that is based on views of both a better world and the power of teachers to shape meaning systems. It manifests in new forms of understanding and practice that contributes to school success and to the quality of life of the community in the long term (p.10).*

Indeed, Katzenmeyer and Moller (2001:8) see teacher leaders as leading: students and colleagues; operational tasks in and outside school or in school governance through joint decision-making. Capacity for shared decision-making in complex situations (e.g. in post-conflict school-life) produces decisional capital nurtured through collective responsibility (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012:5). This way, teachers influence others formally or informally by socially sharing information or partnering

with formal leaders. Though possessing individual uniqueness, Murphy (2005:153) identifies three competences in teacher leaders: *“an understanding of navigating the school organisation, working productively with others, and building a collaborative enterprise.”* Crowther (2009 *et al.*: x) maintains that teacher leadership becomes *“powerful when grounded in cultures of trust and responsibility around genuinely shared goals for improved student learning”*. He perceives teacher leadership being *“about action that enhances teaching and learning in a school; tying school and the community together to advance the community’s quality of life”* (p. xvii).

For Gunter (2005:43), teachers’ power to influence is conferred formally through their job description and cultural expectations. This means that teachers’ allegiance to their community life/expectations may shape their leadership trajectories. This is because; their power *“involves ability to influence the behaviour of others”*, while their formally conferred job gives them some *“authority [or] right to do so”*. Within the classroom context, power resides in the day-to-day relationships between teachers and pupils cemented during pedagogical practices. This means, headteachers may only act as catalysts to classroom outcomes (Leithwood *et al.*, 2003) even in post-conflict schools, seeing that, inclusion is fundamentally negotiated in classroom practices (Edmund and Macmillan, 2010; Devecchi and Nevin, 2010).

For Gunter (2005:51), teacher leadership can be authorized, dispersed or democratic. When authorized, teacher leadership is legitimised through combining hierarchy and teacher-status attribution. The headteacher allows a teacher to determine activity and take action through delegation (towards serving all children) or empowerment (response to individual student). But Jackson (2003: xvii) argues that leadership cannot be delegated or imposed (delegation emphasises power-relationships) but should seek empowerment by creating space, opportunity, capacity, shared values and support for growing together. Gunter perceives delegation and empowerment taking a top-down flow (p.51), enacted through bottom-up processes. Accordingly, teacher empowerment licences his/her discretion as long as actions promote or exceed the collective goals. Dispersed legitimacy utilises the differentiated skills and knowledge of teachers. Teachers network their interests with colleagues to serve the

collective good through consensus, building around bottom-up group initiatives. Influence resides in their collective working processes as they serve their members. Finally, democratic practices target influencing pupils' lives beyond the physical school building, extending that influence to future generations. Essentially, within this perspective, teachers model to pupils those principles that create a fair society.

Generally, these flatter Eurocentric understandings of leadership echo some elements of the general African indigenous leadership where leadership was viewed as a function of the community members rather than individuals only (Masango, 2002). Accordingly, leaders who provided support for their members were not controlling and worked with members as co-workers. Further, *“people were dependent on each other, building on the gift of various members, to challenge, to struggle, to share, and to achieve”* (*ibid.* pp. 710-11). However, the previously discussed post-colonial leadership practices acquired in many African schools, contradict such an understanding. Demand for management of resources and perpetuation of colonial-thinking has driven leadership agendas in different sectors (Nkomo, 2006). Tracing this argument, Kiggundu (1991:34) argues that colonial powers *“first destroyed or denigrated local institutions and management practices, and then developed their own colonial administrative systems”*. Whereas African indigenous structures were also hierarchical, they developed supportive networks of local leaders where routine decisions were delegated with the top individual controlling key decision-making (*ibid.*). Moreover, leaders and members co-existed in harmony with their environment and most indigenous communities had constitutional procedures for the removal of unsuitable leadership. Importantly, societal concerns dominated the organisation's life (Kiggundu, 1991). However, Kiggundu adds that their scope of operation within immediate environments became a weakness, and management of transitions, especially unexpected change in the environment, was problematic. Kiggundu argues that present-day Africa is still deeply rooted in its past, implying that what leaders normally do and what they really are is in constant conflict.

Overall, Yukl (2002:4) maintains that, when school leadership is shared or diffused across teachers, it requires examining the *“complex influence processes that occur*



*amongst members, the conditions that determine when and how they occur and the consequences for the group” (ibid.)* because *what to do* and *how to do it* sits within members’ interactive processes. In this way, leadership becomes a social influence process diffused amongst members of a social system whereby different individuals influence actions and directions taken by others, including ways members relate to each other. Yukl adds that influence may occur naturally beyond specialised roles. Any member of the social group may exhibit leadership any time and place, with many different people influencing each other. Such interactions shape relationships, making no clear distinctions between leaders and followers.

Yet, is finding out ‘who leads’ or ‘how’ (Spillane, 2006; Spillane and Coldren, 2011) sufficient in climates pervaded by complexities such as post-conflict adversity? In reference to inclusion dynamics, Leo and Burton (2006) suggest that we ask, ‘what is leadership for?’ Apparently, interest in sharing/distributing leadership has been prompted by a concern to improve standards of achievement and performance (Harris and Lambert, 2003:2; Durrant and Holden, 2006; Spillane, 2006) often foregrounding measurable outcomes (Timperly, 2009). Though worthwhile, such tendencies purportedly engender a standards-oriented mentality amongst practitioners (Somerset, 2007; Ainscow and Miles, 2009), somewhat weakening aspects of care, community and belongingness (Bottery, 2004; Gunter, 2001). Thinking about leadership along measurable outcomes not only produces potential barriers to inclusive education practices in ‘ordinary’ schools (Leo and Burton, 2006; Ogot, 2008) but also during post-conflict upheavals (Mazawi, 2008; Davies, 2010). As mentioned earlier, academic standards and inclusive practices are not necessarily incompatible, as my post-conflict case study reveals (chapter 6).

Besides, existing shared leadership approaches have targeted relatively stable and less-complicated, rather than turbulent post-conflict, environments (Clarke and O’Donoghue, 2013) where learning transcends formally-designed pedagogy to empowering pupils for survival in adversity (Davies, 2004/10; Nicholai and Triplehorn, 2003). When academic-oriented learning overshadows other forms of learning, the chances for holistic development are constrained in turbulent

circumstance (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000). In the recent wake of Arab violence, Mazawi (2008) contends:

*Engagement of educators in contexts of social and political upheavals provides evidence of alternative modes of educational leadership that transcend the narrow confines of the classroom and go beyond 'frontal' teaching (p.79)*

Accordingly, not recognising the nuances of educators' involvement beyond classroom pedagogy, particularly in community-building, limits understandings of educators' day-to-day realities, as well as the judgements and decisions they make outside the confines of failed governments' mandates. Indeed, recent studies in post-conflict education underscore the need for school leaders to solicit local perspectives, values and priorities to shape school life and its operations (Weinstein *et al.*, 2007; Taro, 2012; Davies, 2013; Dattoo and Johnson, 2013; Jaya, 2013).

In section two, I draw on literature from post-conflict education to pursue this line of argument. I explore how violence can alter roles for school leaders, going beyond conventional understandings of what leaders do. This discussion pushes an understanding of leadership practice along 'for what purposes,' and 'in what circumstances', seeking to connect leadership, inclusion and post-conflict educational reconstruction.

## **SECTION TWO**

### **The New Roles for School Leadership in Fostering Inclusive Cultures in Post-Conflict Communities**

#### **3.2 Introduction**

Having problematised single-leader paradigms and discussed possibilities for moving beyond their delimitations in Kenya in section one, in section two, I explore literature to situate the emerging roles for school leaders in fostering inclusive cultures in post-conflict school circumstances. In this section, I organise these roles around the work of Lynn Davies (2004, and subsequent work) concerning education in the aftermath of violent conflict. Davies' work involves conceptual and empirical studies including those conducted in Asia and Africa e.g. Angola and Kenya.

After analysing and reflecting on my field data, in what I perceive as second level analysis (Oduol, 2014), I found Davies' work useful in making sense of how leadership was moved forward and how roles were negotiated amongst administrators and teachers in responding to post-conflict turbulence. Such an attempt involved mapping possible directions or reactions of practitioners, in response to day-to-day known or unfolding conflict-related issues. Although Davies work is framed within conflict and education and, to a lesser degree, school leadership discourse (except, in Angola, 2013), she identifies a need to examine how resilient schools survive in conflict-pervaded settings, particularly, the type of leadership modelled in such schools (2005). She highlights a need to understand for instance, how educators interrupt the 'normal' processes of exclusion and violence to mediate inclusive practices. She discusses five areas of post-conflict reconstruction, three of which provide a loose structure to my findings, i.e. reconstructing: governance; relationships and learning cultures. These are discussed below in that order. Meanwhile, I recognise that connecting leadership, inclusion and post-conflict reconstruction is challenging and contestable.

### 3.2.1 School Leadership, Inclusion and Reconstruction

Although inclusion in ‘ordinary’ circumstances “*is increasingly seen as a key challenge for educational leaders*” (Kugelmass and Ainscow 2004:1), here I explore possible “*actions and judgments of educators*” in post-conflict schools, considering practitioners’ entrapment in historical, political and socio-cultural upheavals (Mazawi 2008:72). According to the World Bank (2005), the major role of leadership in post-conflict settings is reconstruction. Citing Roche 1996, Davies (2004:165) presents reconstruction as a developmental approach to recovery and change. This period is used to bring about change, “*not returning to the normality or status quo which led to crisis in the first place*”. Yet, in many post-conflict cases, ‘normality’ involves authoritarian leadership and governance and exclusions of certain ‘others’ from mainstream functions (Davies, 2013; Jaya, 2013b). So, how might school leadership adopt roles towards inclusion and reconstruction?

Davies (2004) argues that after violent conflicts, many documents tackle the conventional issues of education, e.g. measuring progress in terms of particular abilities without attending to issues of social cohesion. However, “*the process and ethos of schooling can foster lifelong predisposition to hostilities*” (p.5). Hostilities make exclusion and marginalisation from education a routine after conflicts. However, school leaders are purportedly central in building school ethos and creating climates for school relations (Peterson and Deal, 1998). Indeed, Davies argues that, whereas conflict involves the play of opposing interests, the extent to which school leaders nurture social processes allowing channels for participation, dialogue and negotiation can determine whether conflict plays a constructive or destructive role. When negotiation processes are blocked and basic needs go unmet through rigid leadership practices, resentment builds-up, breeding more conflict. This means that “*positive or transformative conflict shifts to negative,*” although sometimes, “*there was never positive conflict in the first place*” (p.16). In these circumstances, Davies (p. 143) echoes Felman and Laud’s question: Can trauma instruct pedagogy? In chapter 5 and 6, I explore whether experiences of violence can instruct leadership paradigms or activities in the post-conflict case-study.

Fundamentally, reconstruction necessitates redefining leadership practices and roles in relation to various aspects of school-life. Lambert (2003:3) asserts:

*When new experiences are encountered and mediated by reflection, inquiry and social interaction, meaning and knowledge are constructed. Humans learn to learn, constructing meaning and knowledge about their world which enables purposeful acting.*

This interactive learning, re-learning or new knowledge re-orientates leadership roles towards responsiveness to experienced concerns, reflecting on members' prior experiences, beliefs, values, socio-cultural histories and current state of affairs. Conversely, educators are often made to adopt leadership and management models (Dattoo and Johnson, 2013) or what Mazawi (2008:73) calls, "*pre-inscribed and surveilled roles*" yet when government systems and structures collapse during violence, educators do engage in "*myriad sites of action, outside the direct regulative power of established accountability regimes*".

Indeed, reconstruction after violence is continuous (Davies, 2010) needing on-going reflections on everyday actions and judgements. This helps in avoiding regression into undesired normality such as pre-conflict education exclusions. This is especially the case where 'normalcy' is problematic as in Kenya, where periods of relative calm after violence leave communities with fear, divisiveness, resentment for 'others' and unsure about tomorrow (Kamungi, 2013). Miller and Affolter (2002:5) assert:

*For individuals and communities, there may be no clear point when reconstruction stops ... the consequences of conflict penetrate deep into minds and hearts to be worked out over a lifetime and beyond.*

In this way, school leadership activities are anchored on the belief that education goes beyond pedagogic instruction to the development of "*values, attitudes and behaviours that transmit language, culture and moral values necessary for social organisation and forming identities*" (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000:3). This requires creation of spaces for psycho-social healing (Boyden and Rider, 1996) and building future hope through emancipatory thinking (Winthrop and Kirk, 2008). The implication is that leadership for developing inclusivity in post-conflict schools is

shaped by moral perspectives; fostering shared values to connect fragile communities. In these circumstances, morality calls for values and principles consensually agreed upon by societies, which constrain action and are beyond personal preference (Oduol, 2014). But values held by school leaders may influence their decisions and actions, indicating their subjective belief that certain conduct or actions are personally or socially preferable (*ibid*). Such stances will be highlighted as emerging from data in the case study school (chapter 6).

While recognising that “*violence can leave scars that no educational intervention can heal, and even the best interventions are limited in their ability to undo the wrongs of the past*” (Miller and Affolter, 2002:7), the argument that school leaders facilitate transformation of schools in difficult circumstances (Harris and Chapman, 2003) or are transformative for social justice (Shields, 2004) suggests their potential role in post-conflict reconstruction. However, “*a profound challenge to post-conflict reconstruction is to develop mechanisms and conditions that nurture the kind of change that feels safe*” for everyone (Miller and Affolter, 2002:10). This means, leaders balancing pre-violence and desired post-violence ‘normalcy’ where everyone participates and flourishes. This starts with reconstructing good governance.

### 3.2.2 Reconstructing Good Governance

Good governance echoes aspects of shared leadership in section one, for instance, shared decision making, participative and interactive leadership. After social violence, although reconstruction of governance occurs at national levels based on three possible retro-reactions: a government for national unity based on democratic practices; endless futile struggles between opposing groups; or totalitarianism with dictatorship (Davies, 2004:177), school leadership also enacts governance at micro-levels (MOE, 2012b). UNICEF (2014b:2), drawing on Fraser (2005), suggest four ‘Rs’ that enhance possibilities for transformations and sustainable peace through education including: representation, recognition, reconciliation and redistribution. Accordingly, good school governance encourages those arrangements that allow participation of all individuals in decision-making or what Fraser (2005:5) arguing from a social justice perspective calls “*parity in participation.*” This includes having

equal moral worth in issues relating to social life; dismantling institutionalised structures that obstruct ‘others’ (teachers, parents and pupils) from participation (*Ibid.*). This might involve new rules of conduct and new rules for interaction (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000), sharing roles and responsibilities, and enabling local governing structures for addressing local and broader community needs (Davies, 2004).

Davies views good governance as enshrining democratic principles such as critical pedagogy, tolerance for diversity and education for harmonious co-existence, aspects that play a major role in binding school communities. Whereas consensus cannot be imposed in war-torn communities, Davies argues that leaders can mediate participatory processes in schools, proactively creating space for school communities to blend in local heritage with prevailing conditions. This approach captures practitioners’ real-life experiences and critical self-assessment in relation to their heritage, rather than external prescriptions of governance. From her project in Angola, Davies (2013:42) identified a need for a whole-school participatory model based on a vision for safe schools for all. And considering that the schools in post-conflict settings often worked with scarce resources (especially few teachers), she found that demands by the World Bank (in Sub-Saharan Africa) for “*clearly-defined roles*” or “*delegation*” of work become untenable because roles overlapped. Participative approaches are said to allow greater capacity for collective problem-solving (Ainscow and Kugelmass, 2004) enabling diversification of roles in responding to different challenges in inclusive practices, including fostering positive relationships (Ruairc *et al.*, 2013).

### 3.2.3 Reconstructing Relationships

Citing McLaughlin and Regan (2000), Davies (2004:171) perceives reconstruction of relationships involving a reconciliation process which targets healing and moving on, building interdependence and recognition of the benefits of cooperation. Children’s presence in school may imply a return to normalcy which includes developing relationships (UNICEF 2014a), however, though perceived as a normal part of school-life, relationships manifest differently in post-conflict situations (Weinstein *et al.*, 2007). While Shields (2004/14) strongly links building school relationships to

transformative leaders, Goddard (2014) maintains that context defines relationships. Indeed, Winthrop and Kirk (2008) study found that schools can be cruel places where both teachers and peers undermine relationships. Drawing from UNICEF, reconstruction of relationships calls for reconciliation. This aims at addressing past, present and future cultural and socio-economic injustices, facilitating, ‘learning to live together’ (UNESCO, 1996). Positive relationships potentially encourage ‘recognition’ of diversity in schools, e.g. linguistic or cultural differences, and require proactive attention from school leadership because *“teachers create spaces of remembrance and memory-making that are crucial in the process of reconciliation and reconstruction”* of communities (Mazawi, 2008:70). Conversely, school leadership has to contend with social and moral distortion orchestrated by events of violence linked to political leaders (Hughes, 2011) including government prescriptions on learning that promote divisions in schools (Davies, 2005; Goddard, 2015). Building violence-torn relationships would necessitate establishing shared social-moral standards, which Oduol’s (2014) study found to have been complicated by political leaders in Kenya, who create conflicting demands for the ethical conduct of school leaders. Yet, without relationships guarded by trust and ethics, learning for conflict-affected pupils is inhibited.

*Given the depth and intensity of war-experience that each child brings with him or her ... it would be impossible to even begin nurturing the self-healing process unless a relationship of trust was established between the child and the adults (Miller and Affolter, 2002:45)*

The implication is that, leaders’ awareness of activities or processes that breed conflict or cohesion (UNICEF, 2014b) in day-to-day schooling is fundamental in building relationships. Davies perceives the process as deliberate and empathetic; drawing on the needs of the people and moving beyond being nice to one another. Accordingly, it requires individuals to behave in particular ways, not silencing pain or just being neutral. It forms part of educational reformation, leading people out of a culture of violence into cohesion and inclusivity. Accordingly, long-term conflict and divisive practices are tackled as *“antagonists walk through history together”* (2004:171). This would see teachers and students from across social divides recognising and accepting one another’s difference without assigning stereotypical or



denigrating labels. Davies adds that, while the roots of conflict might be deep-seated, “*historical and collective memory is highly selective*” (p.171). I see this having two implications in schools - that leaders’ attempts to reconstruct relationships may be hindered by the deliberate refusal of victims to forget historical injustices; or conversely, groups can collectively deconstruct painful relationships and reconstruct new ways of living together. Chapter 6 explores this further.

Furthermore, those who participated in violence come to school ‘militarised’ and may construe themselves as heroes against the non-participants (Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003; Sommers, 2009) jeopardising school relationships. Demilitarising their minds suggests deconstructing ‘distorted selves’ and building new relationships with non-violent ones which is not always easy as reported of Kenyan *Mung’iki*<sup>1</sup> recruits (Dattoo and Johnson, 2013). Perhaps at the heart of addressing these concerns is a phrase used by Gunter (2005) and Davies (2010:493) ‘do no further harm’. This means leaders paying attention to giving young people a sense of self-worth and group membership (Davis, 2005) whilst building relational bridges across the school community. As Miller and Affolter (2002:12) point out, psychosocial restoration requires conditions like: safeguarding security through absence of threats in school; establishing positive connections through sharing common activities and social learning; enabling positive identity to nurture a sense of self, shaping pupils desired identities (e.g. militias or peace-makers) and helping children to comprehend reality through making sense of patterns of experience before moving on.

At another level, relationships between opposing communities (e.g. alleged perpetrators and victims) deteriorate through adopting separate educational provisions based on differences (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Gallagher, 2010). To mediate integration, school leaders might defy existing societal prohibitions, allowing members across divides to share a school (*ibid.*). This means school leaders creating a degree of turbulence in the systems, challenging taken-for-granted realities about problem-solving and difference (Davies, 2005).

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Mungiki’ is a criminal gang associated with political leaders from the Kikuyu tribe

Furthermore, leaders have a fundamental role in facilitating accessible communication across the school community by advocating for shared languages because language is essential in post-conflict communication, socially and academically (Davies, 2004). Chapter 6 discusses how school leadership inculcated particular value positions within the case study school, fostering relationships through learning or unlearning particular social and academic values. This in part involved, devising new learning cultures.

### 3.2.4 Re/constructing Learning Cultures

After conflict, once schools start running, restoring a culture of learning is crucial whilst paying attention to how current learning portrays the future for pupils (Davies, 2004). *“Attention is needed to ensure that children’s education links to future possibilities including further education and employment opportunities”* (UNICEF 2014a:3), although education does not necessarily guarantee employment (see 2.1.4).

Restoring learning cultures begins with advocacy for Education for All (EFA) (UNICEF-Kenya, 2010). This should seek to increase access to basic levels of education (Davies, 2010) by redistributing available resources, the lack of which hinders learning in post-conflict settings (Jaya, 2013b). The task for school leadership entails fostering learning communities and cultures that expand learning for pupils, teachers and parents. As Davies (2004) argues, having spent time out of school or experiencing disrupted schooling, some teachers and pupils may form habits of absenteeism; manifest low motivation towards learning; or lack cooperation in learning matters. Thus, how headteachers develop teachers’ instructional knowledge, supportive teaching and learning cultures or whole-school learning, is fundamental towards inclusive and conflict-sensitive learning for all students regardless of adversity. From the Angolan study (Davies, 2013:32), teachers’ lack of professionalism (i.e. internalising professional values and understanding why certain teacher behaviours are desirable) affected pupils’ learning. Yet, headteachers did not question this and teachers continued to abuse their authority over pupils including ‘beating’ pupils. Moreover, headteachers’ failure to supervise teaching/learning or

adequately engage parents in matters of learning, constrained parents' awareness of their own roles or those of teachers in supporting learning.

Importantly, Mazawi (2007) advocates creating school-wide communities of learning where all members of the school community are enlisted to learning through different modes, e.g. libraries, Arts and Music, cultural resources, exhibitions and concerts. These offer multiple dimensions of enlightening and bonding communities through sharing knowledge. Goddard (2015:7) views knowledge sharing as a means through which the hopes and dreams of emerging post-conflict communities are passed on to the new generation. However, he adds that knowledge transfer today is accelerated by technological advances (beyond schools and geo-political spaces) becoming "*both a blessing and a curse*", such as during the Arab spring. Importantly, knowledge-sharing widens learning beyond non-academic capabilities wherever they exist, developing pupils' competencies in different dimensions through using different learning spaces and channels besides content-based learning (Goddard and Buleshkaj, 2013).

Yet, headteachers may be excluded from designing curriculum that fosters different forms of learning, as in Rwanda (Jaya, 2013a) or Kenya (see chapter 6). Nevertheless, they can influence acceptance or rejection of educational materials e.g. peace packages which provide different lessons for co-existence from similar settings, thus complementing local learning tools (Miller and Affolter, 2002). In Kenya, Datto and Johnson (2013) reported how some principals after PEV prioritised the core-curriculum to prepare for national examinations, ignoring peace-packages, despite having them in schools. In inclusive terms, the possibility of drawing lessons on appreciating 'others' from such materials was impeded. As Clark and O'Donoghue (2013) suggest, post-conflict circumstances require learning and dialogue to become a day-to-day norm, towards enlightening communities and addressing realities of school-life beyond the normative roles of leadership.

The preceding discussion has proposed moving leadership beyond single-leader paradigms to flatter approaches and has suggested adopting new leadership roles

towards post-conflict reconstruction. This leads to examining what selected empirical studies reveal about leadership, inclusion and post-conflict education.

### 3.2.5 Empirical Evidence

My analysis of selected empirical studies on inclusion, leadership and post-conflict education highlights empirical gaps in which this study seeks to contribute knowledge to. I examine the following studies: ADEA (2012) in Kenya studied ‘inclusion’. Leo and Burton (2006) in the UK; Angelides (2011) in Cyprus, and Gongera, Wanjiru and Oketch (2013) in Kenya studied ‘inclusion and leadership’. Dattoo and Johnson (2013) in Kenya and Jaya (2013b) in Sri-Lanka studied ‘principals’ leadership in post-conflict settings’. In these studies, leadership practice is shaped by contextual dynamics however, positional or principals’ leadership is dominant. Consequently, teacher leadership is marginal or unrecognised.

Exclusion/inclusion concerns range from marginalisation due to special education needs and poverty, (Leo and Burton 2006) to linguistic and family hardship (Angelides 2011) or displacement and violence (Jaya 2013b). However, conflict-related marginalisation (the focus of this study) has received relatively limited attention in inclusive education discourses.

Drawing from Leo and Burton’s (2006) study, perceiving school leadership as moral, distributed, or curriculum-oriented is simplistic and obscures the multifaceted nature of leadership practices necessary for inculcating inclusive cultures. They perceive distributed leadership as motivational in theory, whilst empirical evidence in support of its theoretical assumptions in inclusive practices is limited. My study explores leadership beyond positions, contributing to knowledge in this area.

In Kenya, ADEA’s (2012:22) study reported that “*lack of information on the roles of various actors*” is a significant weakness in moving towards inclusivity. Besides, in Kenya, management of resources in actualising inclusion has situated headteachers as managers (Gongera *et al.*, 2013; Dattoo and Johnson, 2013) overshadowing

leadership practices that support inclusive cultures. Citing KISE (2009), Gongera *et al.*'s study found that building inclusive schools in Kenya required emphasis on leadership and management, a sense of community, flexibility in meeting students' needs, collaboration and cooperation, changing roles and responsibilities, as well as partnerships with parents. How these elements interact during post-conflict conditions remain unexplored.

Finally, Dattoo and Johnson (2013) examined the role of principal leadership in addressing school realities after the 2007/8 post-election violence in Kenya. Their exposition adopted semi-structured interviews with 90 interviews in twenty public secondary schools including 30 interviews with other school principals, for enhancing their exposition. They reported that school cultures were politicised through ethnic divisions in schools/staffrooms, whilst some members used language stereotypically against non-tribal 'others'. Although they found the social-cultural context after PEV requiring a different learning climate, principals remained tightly bound to their traditional administrative, managerial and instructional leadership roles. The situation purportedly required receptiveness to the diverse needs of teachers, pupils and communities due to sharp social divisions and tension; surprisingly, *"little was done by principals to diffuse the tension"* (p.108). They found the new climate creating new roles for principals, e.g. mediators, negotiators and rebuilders of relationships. However, how principals might negotiate these roles to foster learning and reconstruction of school communities remained unexplored.

### **3.3 Conclusions**

In this chapter, I have analysed extant literature focusing on 'leadership' and its contested nature. I argued that although leadership, management and administration overlap, especially in the Kenyan educational context, globally, leadership has been elevated for the purpose of school reform, compared to its associated terms. Within post-conflict settings, I argued for conflict-sensitive leadership which goes beyond single-leader paradigms. The potential challenges in this move includes 'who leads and for what purposes' and whether sharing leadership diminishes its value. To

reconcile these intersectional concerns, the role of leadership in the reconstruction of governance, relationships and learning cultures was discussed. This review has raised a number of questions which the following chapters explore. In particular, “how can school leadership be advanced and roles negotiated amongst practitioners in order to meet the learning and development needs of conflict-affected children amidst post-conflict challenges?” In order to investigate these questions, chapter 4 discusses the research design adopted for this study.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

In chapters 2 and 3, I examined literature in relation to inclusive education focusing on learning and development needs of conflict-affected young people, and roles for school leadership in fostering inclusive practices in post-conflict circumstances. A number of questions were raised which I have refined into three research questions, which I used to guide my inquiry:

4. How did conflict-affected children perceive their own learning and development needs in relation to their inclusion in education after post-election violence, and how were these addressed through their interactions with their headteacher and teachers?
5. What challenges were experienced by school leaders in their practice of inclusive education intended to meet the perceived needs of pupils in post-conflict schooling?
6. How was school leadership practice taken forward in order to foster inclusive cultures and meet the learning and development needs of children in the post-conflict school?

In this chapter, I explain the location of my study in the interpretivist paradigm and justify my selection of the case study approach, in order to explore these questions. The research design, including the selection of participants, methods of data collection and methods of data analysis are outlined, giving a clear audit trail of the procedures adopted. I also consider issues related to positionality, ethical considerations and a discussion of how I ensured 'trustworthiness' in the research processes. Finally, I highlight limitations for this study.

## 4.1 Paradigm

Understanding the dynamics involved in developing leadership practice and roles for headteachers and teachers towards meeting the learning and development needs of conflict-affected children, is inherently complex. Indeed, investigating how practitioners' day-to-day interactions and interdependencies might transform leadership structures, practices or roles required exploring beneath the surface of practice to reveal less overt aspects of their experiences. Additionally, to achieve a nuanced understanding of post-conflict school-life required elicitation of pupils' views on their participation and achievement in education. For these reasons, I conducted a qualitative intrinsic case study, drawing on aspects of ethnography to capture the complexity of post-conflict education as experienced by pupils and their teachers.

I took an interpretive approach, exploring the meanings the headteacher, teachers and pupils made of their circumstances (Creswell, 2008:4). This revealed how they accounted for, took action (Miles and Huberman 1994), and coped with day-to-day post-conflict school-life, and fashioned their individual contributions to address unfolding concerns in "*real social and educational contexts*" (Merriam, 2009:23) permeated by conflicts and contradictions. Thus, I sought meanings constituted in their actions as situated in their challenging work environments (Schwandt, 2000; Thomas, 2013) through "*reasoned reflection*" rather than scientific laws (Hoy and Miskel, 1978:27).

The study was underpinned by social constructionism, identifying the meanings participants constructed of their social world in the processes of interactions amongst themselves (Creswell 2013), including how they constructed their lives through localised activities and social organisations (Elliot, 2005:19) such as staff-meetings, assemblies, and routines. I was aware that multiple complex subjective meanings would inevitably emerge (Merriam, 2009). However, as Stahl (2003:2880) points out, socially constructed meanings tend to be defined along "*consensus of the affected parties*", although conversely, meanings might be founded or skewed towards social



discourses dominated by power relationships. Thus, I obtained data from different sources to capture situational nuances from different perspectives.

In this thesis, I re-construct realities through meaning interpretations and sense-making (Merriam 2009; Creswell, 2013), recognising subjectivity rather than objectivity, and social actors as constructing their reality through their interactions (Silverman, 2006). I recognise that the intersubjective communication of meanings (Schwandt, 2000:193) derives from shared contextual, social, historical and cultural norms (Creswell, 2013) and that interpretations given to aspects of life by teachers and pupils in turn shape their actions and responses to their situations (Owen, 1995). Adopting positivism would limit such an exploration. Positivism requires objective interpretations of social life (Esterberg, 2002; Charmaz; 2006), which according to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) is hard to achieve in exploring complex human behaviour especially in school settings.

#### **4.2 The Case Study: Rationale**

School leadership and inclusive practices are issues of contemporary significance in education whilst provision of education during violent conflicts is a current dilemma across global communities. Yet in schools, the interaction between leadership activities, inclusive practices and post-conflict education initiatives suggest no clear-cut boundaries; making these practices, and the context in which they are occurring, appear ‘tangled’ (Yin, 2009). Whilst surveys and experiments may, for instance, serve to enumerate the extent to which certain aspects of school-life are experienced in large populations, within clearly set dimensions, such approaches are likely to yield superficial data without attending to covert details of real school-life in a post-conflict situation (Yin, 2009). Also, surveys and experimentation aim to predict and control a set of variables which would limit the understanding of interconnected relationships (Esterberg, 2002) in post-conflict reconstruction.

Ethnomethodology, which is centred on methods people use in their daily lives to *“recognize, interpret and classify their own and others’ actions”* using unspoken

rules in unstructured situations (Gobo, 2011:22) was considered as a possible approach. Yet, it would not capture ‘rule’ as a cognitive resource in determining human actions (Gobo, 2011; Gomm, 2008), something very present in school settings where cognisance of professional codes and policies is indispensable. Besides, by pursuing “*observable doings and hearable sayings*” the approach distances itself from “*circumstances beyond the interview situation*” (Gomm, 2008:11). Herein, historical and day-to-day experiences were important.

An exploratory, intrinsic case study with aspects of ethnography, was determined to be the most appropriate approach. Stake (2003) sees an intrinsic case being undertaken for better “*understanding of the particular case*” and not for its representativeness of other cases (pp.136-137). For Stake, focusing on the ordinariness and particularity of the case allows teasing out of the stories of those living it and suspending other curiosities. This facilitates capturing its holistic and multiple elements including its physical, economic, political, social and cultural contexts. Accordingly, its purpose is not necessarily to build theory “*although at other times, the researcher may do just that*” (*ibid.*)

I targeted the case of one ‘unique school’ (see 4.3.1) serving children from an Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) community and undertook six months of fieldwork, exploring the perceptions of the needs of young people in post-conflict settings and the leadership practices developed to respond to these needs. By selecting an atypical case, I aimed to explore and “*learn more*” (Stake, 2003:152) new insights in a less researched area (Yin, 2009) whilst activating “*more actors [and unveiling] more basic mechanisms*” (Flyvbjerg, 2006:229) of implicit leadership practices in day-to-day school-life. I “*closed-in on real life situations*” (Flyvbjerg, 2006:235), e.g. school ceremonies as they unfolded. Furthermore, using questions like ‘*how*’ and ‘*why*’ enabled exploration and explanations (Yin, 2009) of deeper thematic lines beyond superficial information seeking (Stake, 2003). I delimited my focus to a school because attention in post-conflict reconstruction commonly occurs at community/national levels focusing on macro leadership/governance (World Bank, 2005; African Union, 2006; UNDP, 2010). This

means less attention is paid to micro leadership, e.g. at school-level (Clarke and O'Donoghue, 2013) let alone beyond principals' leadership. A focus on school facilitated an understanding of how external policies shape internal school operations.

The ethnographic aspect in the study enabled capturing the cultural orientation of the participants, exploring ordinary, taken-for-granted processes that were somewhat conditioned by the group's "*ethos or habits*" as they navigated through schooling processes (Cook and Crang, 1995:8). Beyond their immediate position, I questioned "*where they are coming from, going to, and where on this path the research encounter occurred*" (*ibid.*). Thus, I engaged teachers and pupils in an exploration of their journey (Crang and Cook, 1995) in post-conflict reconstruction, understanding how school leadership mediated inclusive practices in circumstances they identified as permeated by contradictions and hardship. To do this, I became partially immersed in their world, through observations and attending school activities, somewhat seeing their 'inside' from the outside (Schwandt, 2000:192). In this way, I got to interpret their context, culture and social structures through observed and experienced encounters; utilising my prior knowledge of context to "*see outside myself*" (Thomas, 2013:157).

The case provided multiple perspectives to real life situations (Yin, 2009), exposing the 'in-between' of human activities in day-to-day school practices (Spillane, 2006). According to Ragin and Amoroso (2011), such exposure benefits from drawing on analytical frames to establish relevant and irrelevant evidence supporting data-generated interpretations. In this case, loose conceptual guidelines from leadership, inclusion and post-conflict education provided the case-study some analytical backdrop for comparability (Blaikie, 2000; Riessman, 2008) whilst situating the research in a field of study (Silverman, 2006). This meant embracing both inductive and deductive logics (see data analysis, section 4.5).

Case study strategy has however been challenged for its alleged limitation in terms of generalisability (Thomas, 2011). Yet, I provide interpretations and thick contextual description (see 4.8 on achieving trustworthiness) allowing case study readers to

decipher meanings that might be transferable to their own circumstances (Stake 2003; Shenton, 2004). Flyvbjerg (2006:228) and Thomas (2011) add that a case study offers “*the force of example*” helpful in resolving relatable issues. Also, Flyvbjerg (2006) notes the argument by some scholars (citing Campbell, 1975 and Eysenck, 1976) that case studies provide practical rather than universal knowledge. Yet, as Flyvbjerg argues, both practical and universal knowledge are equally useful. Indeed as Stake (2003:140) observes, intrinsic cases enable understanding “*what is important about that case in its world which is seldom the same as the worlds of researchers and theorists.*” The ‘world’ in which my case study was located forms my next discussion.

### **4.3 Case Selection**

#### **4.3.1 School Characteristics**

Thomas (2011) suggests that providing a framework indicating the nature of a unique case is essential, defining it by core topic, interest and particular circumstances. I targeted the case of one primary school in Nakuru, Kenya, having been identified by local teachers and the school’s headteacher as serving mainly IDPs and demonstrating high retention of conflict-affected children. This selection was perceived as information-rich (Merriam, 2009) providing “*sufficient intensity*” (Patton, 1990:172) of post-conflict experiences. It allowed an opportunity for in-depth exploration of pupils’ and teachers’ perceptions of needs of conflict-affected children, including how school leadership was developed to meet these needs, thus answering the questions set out for this study.

The selected school was started in 2010 by a Non-Governmental Organisation and sponsors from two universities based in two countries in the Global North. The NGO, according to the headteacher, visited the IDP camp after the 2007/8 PEV in Kenya and found many school-age children “*wandering about*” with little hope for schooling. The nearby existing schools could not cope with the massive influx of IDPs after the violence, therefore, many children remained out of school. Furthermore, socio-economic and emotional situations for the IDPs were extremely difficult (UNDP, 2011) due to violent relocations and loss of livelihoods from the

tribal clashes (IMF, 2012). Many were dependent on donors for daily survival, while some families had lost members and were still coming to terms with the situation (Misigo and Koder, 2010). These circumstances put pressure on families, leading some children to miss school altogether, while others experienced erratic school attendance (*ibid*). This was typical amongst the orphaned, sibling reared, looked-after, 'homeless' or traumatised children, increasing their vulnerability to exclusion in, and from, education (see chapter 5). According to the school's headteacher, about 71 % of pupils (51% from IDP camp and 20% from a local orphanage) would be conventionally perceived as Most Vulnerable Children (MVC) in Kenyan school discourse, alongside the 30% non-IDPs enrolled.

The headteacher reported the school's retention rate as above 95%. This is exemplary compared to Nakuru County's (85.1%) and Kenya's (76.8%) overall rates (Nakuru County Sheet, 2011). From field data, in October 2013, there were 410 pupils in the primary school, one headteacher and twelve teachers. The school had pupils up to standard/grade four. The population increased to 568 pupils and 17 teachers in January 2014 when the school year started; standard five becoming the highest class. The average teacher-pupil ratio was 1:40.

#### 4.3.2 Selection of Participants

Two levels of selection applied: case level involved selecting a school serving IDP community and its headteacher and, within the case, I invited eight teachers and sixteen children (eight boys and eight girls) to participate. I was aware of the four class-levels before fieldwork, so I decided that two teachers at each class-level ( $2 \times 4 = 8$ ) would be targeted for involvement in this study. This would help me examine and understand interactions across different class-levels. I wanted to include the headteacher, deputy and senior teacher (administrative leaders) to capture issues at school level, thus making my ideal selection at least 11 participants (3 administrators, 8 teachers). However, in this school, apart from the headteacher, all other teachers were class-teachers, meaning that two participants (the deputy and senior teacher) fall in both the class-teacher and administrator categories. I planned to involve teachers who had served in the school since its inception to obtain a

picture of both historical and more recent happenings (See table 4.1 and 4.2 below). I individually negotiated participation with all of the twelve class teachers to avoid feelings of ‘compulsion’ or ‘unnecessary obligation’ and the fact that four of them felt comfortable in declining suggests that this approach was successful. While the participation of all teachers would have possibly enriched my data, I considered that those volunteering would be more engaged in the study and provide depth of experiences. One non-participant had served the school since its inception in 2010. Another joined in 2012 and two joined in 2013 (so, were relatively new). Thus, eight class teachers participated, who included the deputy and senior teacher. It was not possible to achieve a balance of male and female teachers as the school teaching staff was predominantly female. Teacher participants cut across grades enabling diversification of information (Creswell, 2013), although I was unable to achieve two per class-level as initially intended. Table three shows the participants and their class-levels while table four gives teachers’ particulars including issues related to ethnicity and displacements.

**Table 4.1: Class-Levels and Data Collection**

<b>Participants</b>	<b>Class taught 2013 into 2014</b>	<b>Activities</b>
<b>Headteacher</b>	Four - five	Interviews and observations
<b>Teachers</b> Roda & Mambo (the deputy) Stella (Senior teacher) and Tina Jo, Jess and Martha Gean	Four - five Three – four  Two - three One - two	Interviews, conversations and observations
16 pupils (9-12 year olds)	Four - five	Write-ups; Spider diagram and observation at whole-school activities

**NB:** All names are pseudonyms. The division between headteacher and teachers indicates the conventional staffing discourse in Kenyan schools. Teachers proceeded with their classes from 2013 into 2014. The headteacher taught two subjects in class four (2013) and five (2014).

**Table 4.2: Teachers' Summary Profile Information**

Participants	Year of joining school	No. of interviews	Tribal background (ABCD)	
Gean	2010	1	A	Same tribe as most pupils, who were victims of displacement. Gean also suffered displacement but was not living in the camp
Headteacher	2011	3		
Stella	2011	2		
Martha	2011	2		
Jess	2012	1 + conversation		
Tina	2012	1	B	Same tribe with a sizable number of pupils who were also victims of displacement
Mambo	2011	2 + conversation		
Jo	2010	2	C	Displacements in Western parts of Kenya were allegedly caused by Jo's and Roda's tribesmen
Roda	2013	2	D	
9	4	16	4	

**NB:** Teachers with single interviews were unavailable for further interviewing. ABCD stands for different tribes.

#### 4.3.3. Pupils' Participation

Pupils were identified by their class-teachers (on my request) as those most at risk of exclusion, yet who had remained in school since its inception in 2010. (See section 4.7 for ethical issues in selection.) My aim in this selection was to examine how actions by school leaders might support participation even with “*intensity*” of concerns (Patton, 1990:171). Prior to the activities, the class teachers allowed me to visit the three classes from which the participants were drawn. This enhanced

acceptance into the pupils' life spaces. I was introduced as a 'teacher doing research,' and asked to introduce myself and the reason for my visit. The introduction somewhat combined, if not reversed, my roles. I explained to the pupils that although I was a former teacher, I was now interested in learning about school-life from their perspectives. For me, this encouraged pupils to see themselves as competent actors in their school-life (Kirk, 2007). Having asked the teachers to select both girls and boys, I achieved a balanced group of eight boys and eight girls.

#### **4.4 Data Collection**

Data generation aimed at obtaining in-depth information about day-to-day experiences from multiple perspectives. Different methods were adopted: semi-structured interviews, semi-structured observations, field notes, texts-on-walls and pupils' activities. I started by conducting general school observation for familiarity, gradual interactions and for immersion into members' spaces. This involved attending the assembly and walking around noting leadership tools, like wall-displays (Spillane and Coldren, 2011) and other observables (Gomm, 2008), such as eating lunch. I took note of different impressions. These acted as background information for subsequent interviews. More observations were conducted as events unfolded, and interviews and conversations were used to provide deeper understanding. Pupils' activities were spread over the research period.

##### **4.4.1 Observations**

Knowing the intended goal of observation enables either selective or holistic data generation (Punch, 2009). Drawing on Spillane and Coldren (2011), understanding school leadership practices would involve identifying actual routines, practices and experiences in schools and how these are carried out in responding to situational issues. In this case, I conducted semi-structured observations having guiding ideas as shown in table 4.3 below. I examined class-level and school-level interactions across teachers, as well as their interactions with their pupils as inter/intra group members (Esterberg, 2002). This enabled an understanding of the nature of the individual's responses when they acted interdependently. To enhance relevance (Esterberg, 2002;



Punch, 2009), I considered activities that involved headteacher's and teachers' actions and interactive exchanges amongst themselves and towards pupils, e.g. in school assemblies. I observed and listened to the enactment and connection of multiple leaderships; children performing poems and drama, and teachers relating with children in various ways (Appendix 5.1). I also captured teachers' dialogue with colleagues in two full-staff meetings and two smaller working groups: one with three standard three teachers and the headteacher, and the other with the drama group teachers. I listened to their dialogues on planned, enacted or on-going activities to identify the 'in between' of leadership activities (Spillane, 2006). I captured these in field notes which were later analysed. Classrooms observations helped me to see how teachers interacted and responded to individual pupil's needs and how children were included or excluded in regular classroom routines. Observing unfolding events, I recorded key impressions using my loose guiding ideas (appendix 4.1) and sought clarification of observed incidents in subsequent interviews.

Observations however posed challenges when addressing the feeling of 'inspection' which was likely to elicit mechanically produced episodes (Gallagher, 2009). Furthermore, external interactive behaviour could be easily observed but accessing the underlying thinking was problematic. That is why observations were followed by interviews or conversations for better understanding. School level observations were clarified in two ways: teachers involved were subsequently asked to clarify what was happening, e.g. in the parents-teachers meeting, while interviews with the senior teacher, deputy and headteacher helped explain other school-level observations. Gallagher (2010) says that observations can benefit from 'anonymised observations'; obtaining evidence which narrows chances of identity matching. This was especially possible during school-level activities, where I 'blended in' within whole-school participation making targeted individuals/activities less obvious. In such open cases, confidentiality was maintained and notes were written soon after observations. Table 4.3 below provides a summary of observations and their purposes. Observations at different levels revealed the degree of teacher involvement in school decision-making and leadership practices.

**Table 4.3: Observations and Purposes**

<b>Observations</b>	<b>Where</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>When</b>	<b>Purpose/what is going on?</b>
Whole-school  and   small groups	Assemblies	3	1 <sup>st</sup> in Oct. 2013 2 <sup>nd</sup> in Nov. 2013 3 <sup>rd</sup> in Jan. 2014	1 & 2: Group actions and interactions in relation to pupils needs and leadership practices 3: Issues with new-year intake
	School ceremonies	3	1 <sup>st</sup> in Oct. 2013 2 <sup>nd</sup> in Nov. 2013 3 <sup>rd</sup> in April 2014	Sponsor-visit day Closing day Cultural aspects; who leads and how? Activities fostering inclusion or exclusion
	Whole-school staff meetings	2	1 <sup>st</sup> in Nov. 2013  2 <sup>nd</sup> in Feb. 2014	End-year reflections Strategies for inclusion
	Std. 3 teachers-parents meeting	1	February 2014	Multi-level leadership practices in meeting pupils' needs
	Drama-group meeting	1	January 2014	Teacher leadership initiatives in meeting pupils' needs
Class-level	Classroom visits for classteachers	8	October 2013-March 2014 Teacher selected time-slot.	Actions, interactions and responses to pupils needs in classrooms

#### 4.4.2 Interviews

Conducting in-depth interviews enabled both sharing physical space with participants to establish and strengthen relationships for openness (Legard, Keegan and Wart, 2003) and, exploring ideas through hearing how participants “*make sense of their lives, work and relationships*” (Ragin and Amoroso, 2011:122). Although observations could potentially provide opportunities to identify patterns/routines that reinforced the groups’ identity or allegiances, and field notes captured situations observed or encountered, interviews enabled understanding of the reasons behind observed happenings. They created room to delve deep into individuals’ experiences, to understand historical, and currently observed, but unspoken realities. The semi-structured interviews utilised an interview schedule having three major guiding ideas/questions explored with every teacher (see appendix 4.2). This facilitated overall direction of communication (Thomas, 2013) whilst allowing adequate room for flexibility of individual responses (Yin, 2009). These captured individuals’ understandings and practices, including indications of group constructs or interdependencies. The questions explored particular areas of interest based on my former teaching experience, knowledge of context and interaction with extant literature. The schedule was piloted in a different school with two practitioners and questions amended to include “*in this particular school*” to situate teachers’ understanding in own practice, i.e. context particularity (Stake, 2003). The topics covered were: inclusion as understood in relation to pupils in this particular school, leadership in relation to meeting the needs of these children and individual experiences in relation to practices with these children. Interviews provided teachers with spaces to express themselves, perhaps, sharing experiences that have not been told or accounted for previously. I was also able to watch their behaviour, hear their words and see gestures obtaining hints on individual feelings about issues being discussed (Thomas, 2013). Interviews allowed me to reflect on emerging ideas during sessions; probing or prompting interviewees to get at factors that underpin their responses: reasons, feelings or opinions (Legard, Keegan, and Wart, 2003).

Interviews followed Legard, Keegan and Warts' (2003:144-6) pattern of: i) general conversation for ice-breaking, ii) introduction of the research project which involved re-confirming their participation (consent letters had been issued earlier when the teachers and I jointly planned for interview sessions), consent for tape-recording and my commitment to anonymity, iii) asking some background classroom-related information, iv) asking the interview questions, v) providing time for any further views while signalling the end and, finally, thanking teachers for participation. A thirty-minute interview was planned with each participant. While clarifications were made throughout the interview process, I did an end-session interview recap to check and confirm each interviewee's overall ideas. Some utilised the time to talk further about their own experiences (Legard, Keegan and Wart, 2003). Interview notes were taken with interviewees' consent (Thomas, 2013). Preliminary reflections on interview data were achieved by listening through the tapes as soon as possible after the interview. This allowed for contextualising concepts and 'self-auditing' considering my role in co-construction of knowledge during interviews. I drew upon experiences with interviewees to enhance subsequent data-generation skills (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011; Silverman, 2006:129). However, each interview experience was unique, sessions taking between 25-52 minutes. The plan for the headteacher's interviews is shown in the table below.

**Table 4.4: Headteacher's Interviews**

Episode	Data sought
One (October, 2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relevant school demographics and historical perspective, nature of MVC, and, his general take of inclusion and leadership practice in this school.</li> </ul>
Two (November, 2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Elaboration of emerging issues at school-level observations e.g. assemblies and textual displays; or classrooms e.g. the PRIMR approach</li> <li>• His individual experiences of leadership &amp; inclusion in a post-conflict school</li> </ul>

Three (March, 2014)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Verifying conceptions (or misconceptions) so far</li> <li>• Explored the kind of leadership practices he perceived as fostering inclusivity, how administration and management operated here, and ways he worked with teachers in restoring relations amongst the school community.</li> </ul>
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The first interview was more on generalities about the school, while the second helped elaborate issues observed at school level besides allowing the headteacher time and space to talk about his own experiences. The third interview acted as a concluding way to review all information, especially through sensing any congruence or contradictions within generated data from teachers' and children's activities, e.g. how he as a leader connected with different aspects and levels of school-life to increase the participation of children in education.

The limitations of interviews included respondents straying out of context, interrupting my intended flow (Legard, Keegan and Wart, 2003). This required immense patience and manoeuvring of responses for redirection. Moreover, I foresaw issues of asymmetries of power (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011: 435) and it was possible that participants might feel inferior to me because of my position as a PhD researcher. Interviewees purportedly shape their responses in relation to who the interviewer is, what s/he is hoped to know, the position of the interviewer in relation to the world being described and the expected use of the given information (Silverman, 2006:132). This might lead to rehearsed 'researcher-friendly' responses to avoid seeming unknowledgeable (Busher, 2002) or guarding against betrayal of norms. Conversely, some might overprotect their school/classroom territories (Legard, Keegan and Wart, 2003) creating 'unspoken hurdles' for researchers. Consequently, rapport was pursued through early familiarity, e.g. my open participation in general school activities such as assemblies and joint-planning for every class visit (see, positionality 4.6, ethical considerations 4.7 and trustworthiness 4.8). Interviews required concentration and stamina to listen, comprehend, digest, quick distillation before probing, sustaining interest and identifying insights or contradictions (Legard, Keegan and Wart, 2003:142) whilst ensuring that responses

were meeting research aims. Generally, the interviews were intense experiences needing soberness and focus (*ibid*).

#### 4.4.3 Textual Displays

According to Franklin (2012:218), school documentary evidence goes beyond written documents to include text visuals. In qualitative terms, Franklin sees documents acting as social-cultural artefacts whose meanings largely surface through “*encoding and decoding*”. The researcher unearths possible hidden meanings that represent thoughts and experiences (*ibid*), or, possible ethics/beliefs, conventions or strategies that guide practice in particular contexts. I utilised selected texts-on-walls as ‘referentials’ of practice (Guba, 1981:85). These consisted of core values, organisational duties and responsibilities, purpose statements and goals of education, which participants referenced as guiding their practice. Digital images were taken of these materials. Having been produced at school level, authenticity and credibility in relation to context was not necessarily a challenge (Punch, 2009). My task required identifying their connection with practice and the justification offered for their use. In this case, their relevance was indicated through their utilisation in practice. For instance, pupils recited the mission statement during assembly while displayed organisational duties were enacted by the named teachers.

Beyond teacher participation, pupils’ views were sought in two activities.

#### 4.4.4 Activities with Children

I obtained consent from participating pupils (See appendix 4M-N). I was aware that inquiry into pupils’ school experiences in post conflict circumstances would present new opportunities and challenges (Hart, 2006) with possibilities for intersectional issues in terms of pupil’s individual limitations and my facilitation of their participation. Pupils’ participation aimed to understand their diverse experiences and provide room for individuals’ expression (Punch 2002; Greene and Hogan, 2011). I saw children as participating subjects, not objects (Wilkinson 2000). Having worked with children before, I valued pupils’ contributions and perspectives to school experiences, as opposed to listening to them through teachers only (Kirk, 2007). This

enabled an understanding of how pupils experienced schooling as potential beneficiaries of the all-inclusive education initiative in Kenya, and particularly, as ‘victims of violence’ possibly supported by practitioners through professional and social interactions nested within multi-level accountabilities.

Different data generation approaches were possible. Whereas interviews are highly flexible in exploring children’s concerns with room for “*constructing accounts with them*” (Green and Hogan, 2011:150) and ensuring children’s privacy and differentiated needs (Gallagher, 2010), I felt that some might find one-to-one interview settings uncomfortable (Gallagher, 2010; Thomas 2013) especially in a context where children were likely to have had negative experiences with adults (Kum, 2011; Walsh, 2005).

I selected creative methods of data collection (Gallagher 2010) considering relevance and applicability within the school context. These included semi-structured write-ups and spider-diagrams (illustrated below) which encouraged active participation and self-expression. These activities were aimed at neutralising power relationships between pupils and myself (Kirk, 2007). The data-generation processes occurred rather informally in places children and I agreed on (*ibid*).

During data collection, the sixteen pupils remained together as one group (Gallagher, 2010) but each did his/her own individual work. I was aware that when participants “*share intense discussions*” there are possibilities of eliciting sensitive issues related to the topic, perhaps leading to stressful emotional reactions (Greene and Hogan, 2011:238). Therefore I avoided focus group discussions and instead facilitated individual-based accounts where peers took a supportive role in helping each other out in more general issues, e.g. drawing a ‘spider’, spelling out a word or showing peers where to indicate what, or just chatting for fun.

To enhance free expression and confidentiality, I asked to use a meeting room at the bottom corner of the school. The pupils agreed to meet after afternoon classes, when all children were free from regular classroom routines. Although the activities could

be performed outside the classrooms, this became difficult due to noise from other children playing about. The activities were executed as follows:

### **Write-ups and Spider Diagrams**

#### *i) First interaction*

I asked pupils to help me set up the room. As an ‘ice-breaker’, I asked every pupil to say their name and what they liked doing most in school. I then explained to the group about my interest in learning from their schooling experiences since they joined the new school, away from a former conflict-background. I emphasised on obtaining those experiences with peers and teachers that made them really want to continue participating in education despite possible hardship. Such clarification aimed to enhance their understanding of what they were going to talk about beforehand and whether they were happy to do it (Kirk, 2007). Having previously sought information on levels of literacy and language preference from the teachers, I encouraged the children to communicate their own experiences in either Kiswahili or English, both in writing and verbally. I asked the pupils to volunteer reading the contents of the consent letter, which they did. We discussed what we understood by the contents as read, and then I clarified the information provided therein (Legard, Keegan, and Wart, 2003). After the 30 minute meeting, I spent some extra time talking generally with different pupils about the school, to boost openness (Wilkinson, 2000). Children were issued with opt out consent letters (Appendix 4M-N) for individual and parents’ consent (See 4.7 on ethical considerations). Two activity-meetings followed.

#### *ii) The Activities*

In the write-ups (activity one), I set out four prompts (table 4.5). Firstly, I perceived these as aspects which might make a difference to pupils’ participation and achievement in school in their circumstances, based on my intrinsic interest and knowledge of the context (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Secondly, I assumed these were fundamental issues related to inclusive practices in schools as understood through my reading of literature (Riessman, 2008), besides being means to focus children (Oppenheim, 2000).



**Table 4.5: Children's Activities**

Activity	Description/prompts	Processes
<b>Activity 1</b> Write-ups	<p>Having been in this school up to Standard 4: Write something interesting about your schooling experiences mentioning:</p> <p>1) Your pseudonym, your age, where you come from and when you joined the school (this sought to obtain readily accessible aspects before engaging with deeper information)</p> <p>2) Write what inclusion in education means to you and your memorable experiences since joining this school</p> <p>3) Write the activities you most like participating in and what they make you feel</p> <p>4) Mention those teachers who make you really like coming to school and what they do to influence your continued participation and achievement in education</p>	<p>50 minutes allowed for participation of children with different literacy levels. Two pupils with writing difficulties supported.</p> <p>Initial worksheets discarded, foolscaps used for flexibility in writing length.</p> <p>Initial checking of write-ups for any concerns.</p> <p>Collected for later analysis</p>
<b>Activity 2</b>	Draw a three-body segment insect	40mins allowed
'Spider diagram' <sup>2</sup>	<p>Indicate those teachers who make you really like coming to school and what they do to inspire your participation and achievement in school</p> <p>Pupils asked questions for clarifications</p> <p>Crawling insect signified pupils schooling journey.</p>	<p>Pupils drew diagrams, peers helped each other with the drawings</p> <p>Pupils noted their select teachers indicating statements for each</p>

<sup>2</sup> While not anatomically correct (spiders have two body parts and 8 legs) it made sense to the pupils and became part of 'revising science'

In Spider diagrams (see sample, appendix 4S), I combined creativity with human characteristics; a crawling ‘spider’ providing the ongoing school experiences, and different segments indicating different practitioners who potentially encourage this progress. Pupils were asked to:

- Think of six teachers who made them really like participating in school, and how they did it.
- Draw a three-segmented and six-legged body insect (conveniently termed ‘spider’ in this study).
- For each body-segment, starting from the head, thorax then abdomen, allocate two teachers of choice. Agreed role-related labels were used, e.g. Deputy or English teacher [ET].
- Place each selected teacher on either side of each segment, accompanied by two sentences indicating how the teacher made them ‘really like coming to school’. However, a few children mentioned five teachers or more than six, indicating the flexible nature of qualitative responses.

To enhance credibility of their responses (Punch, 2002), I cultivated trust by balancing rapport and focus (Kirk, 2007), trying to be both formal and informal. I moderated the language used to match their ability level, whilst providing adequate writing time. I also offered guidance and support as necessary throughout the tasks (Punch, 2002).

The strength of these activities was that every child took part in a creative way, they were fun, less formal, collaboration was possible and children expressed their own views (Wilkinson, 2000; Punch, 2002). Two pupils found writing-up challenging, so I supported them by listening and writing down their responses. The challenge was that I had to do one at a time, whilst co-ordinating other pupils’ writing. Explanation of procedure was also time-consuming. Data from write-ups and spider diagrams were locked in my personal drawer and safeguarded for analysis.

## 4.5 Data Analysis

### 4.5.1 Deductive and Inductive Logics

Whilst deductive approaches adopt premises from extant theory to investigate practice, inductive approaches investigate practice towards generation or development of theory (Blaikie, 2000). Blaikie sees these two approaches as often overlapping in practice. This is because research often builds or improves on existing theories (Esterberg, 2002; Creswell, 2013), where constructs from emerging evidence are matched with extant literature. Even where emerging theories run counter to existing ones, new theories allow re-examination of existing assumptions (Stake, 2003). According to Merriam (2009) and Franklin (2012), proceeding with any empirical study typically requires prior knowledge of related issues and some level of theorising. But Crang and Cook (1995) contend that, although prior review of existing literature is necessary, sometimes new perspectives can emerge during fieldwork, especially in ethnographies; and this can require the researcher to re-examine literature. Accordingly, the “*read-then-do-then-write*” (p. 20) procedure becomes problematic and sometimes, literature initially seen as unrelated eventually becomes useful in situating field information (*ibid*).

My approach to this study was that I read relevant literature on leadership and inclusive education and adopted broad-based sensitising definitions to alert me to ways of organising experiences and making decisions on what to record (Patton, 1987; Blaikie, 2000; Bowen, 2006). However, the uniqueness of post-conflict school-life was better understood through exploring day-to-day field experiences, thereby understanding meanings that were generated and constructed in the process of the research activity as school-life unfolded (Blaikie, 2000; Crang and Cook, 1995:20). For instance, my initial data analysis brought to the surface specific issues in relation to post-conflict education not earlier captured in my literature review. These issues went well beyond the conventional inclusion discourse, which has scarcely addressed marginalisation and vulnerability in post-conflict circumstances. Thus, the inclusion literature could not provide me with the necessary analytical leverage to capture emerging themes. This led to me examining post-conflict

theoretical underpinnings to provide a conceptual framework for the study, for example Davies (2004-2013) and Clarke and O'Donoghue (2013). Similarly, it became increasingly clear from field experience that the most relevant leadership literature was that which addressed an integrative approach to leadership like Spillane and Coldren (2011) and Msila (2014).

Despite reflection on literature, greater consideration was given to particularities of the field (Stake, 2003). I explored all generated data to establish and interpret the participants' perspectives about leadership and inclusion in post-conflict working contexts. However, as Thomas (2013:157) argues, although the study may require taking new perspectives, *"there is no attempt to deny [my] personal knowledge or put it aside"* when interpreting ethnographic studies. As Thomas points out, being the human instrument, in order to see outside yourself, *"you must use your knowledge of the people, social systems and structures and how they relate, rather than rejecting this knowledge"*. Besides, the questions I raised for my study were not only from extant literature, but my intrinsic interest in the case as well as knowledge of context. Although the process of analysis started with initial encounters in the field, consistent with ethnography, I did not use a closed set of analytic categories to narrow down my subsequent focus (Silverman, 2006:79). Rather, I worked with *"unstructured data"* (*ibid.*) capturing unfolding day-to-day issues for breadth and depth (Grandy, 2010). This built my understanding of context (Guba and Lincoln, 1989) as insights emerged in time and space. Nonetheless, the case was time-bound (Yin, 2009) and concluded in six months.

I considered that the case study was not tied to any particular methods of data analysis, given its eclectic nature (Yin, 2009). The case was exploratory and my interest in the case itself guided the analysis (Grandy, 2010). The process involved *"sifting, sorting and reflecting"* (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011:539) with constant comparisons across data sets (Thomas, 2013) throughout the process. Comprehensive data analysis was done after field activities. This was alongside iterative interaction with literature (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011), presenting the ultimate account (Patton, 1987). Findings were compiled thematically. Thematic

analysis allowed identification of patterns of meaning across the entire data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Thus, I employed inductive, constant comparative and then deductive reasoning (Patton, 1987; Blaikie, 2000; Silverman, 2006; Merriam, 2009:175-178). Existing theory served to indicate congruence or nonconformity of emerging evidence (Ragin and Amoroso, 2011) whilst context-specific evidence provided the uniqueness of the case (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Ultimately, situational meanings were interpreted and constructed between the participants and myself (Thomas, 2013:235).

#### 4.5.2: The Process of Analysing Data

I listened to the tape recordings as soon as possible after the interviews (Clark and Braun, 2006). I transcribed the first four interviews as a way to familiarise myself with contextual dynamics, for contextualising concepts, and obtaining leads for better inquiry. Subsequent data collection was iterative; looking back and going forwards to sense localised meanings.

Midway through my fieldwork, I prepared a preliminary analysis with an overview of issues explored and sent a copy to my supervisors. Three issues surfaced as of particular importance: a) how MVC in such circumstances were being socialised to facilitate their meaningful participation in education, b) how the notions of leadership, management and administration were understood and c) aspects that made this particular school distinctive. These, and other ideas noted in the preliminary analysis, were explored in subsequent visits.

I personally transcribed all interviews. Transcribing not only provided me hard copies of information, but this became a way to immerse myself in data, sensing similar or diverse understandings, alongside my contribution in the co-construction of information through moderating the process (Silverman, 2006). Having followed my field observations with interviews or conversations, I read transcripts alongside related notes. This was collated with textual displays referenced by participants, e.g. core values; national goals of education, the school leadership chart.

## **After fieldwork**

Initial analysis involved general comparison and initial presentation of the data. I started by analysing my data inductively, towards generating themes characterising the experiences of my informants. I found Braun and Clarke's (2006) steps in thematic analysis useful and flexible. I adopted the steps to fit my understanding and study, thus merging what I perceived as overlapping steps. Steps included: i) familiarising myself with data, ii) generating initial codes, iii) searching for themes, iv) revising themes, v) defining/naming themes and vi) producing the report. I reduced these into four, after considering the iterative nature in searching, revising and naming themes. I merged these three stages.

### *1. Familiarising myself with the data*

My immersion into data was through reading each piece of data repeatedly underlining key phrases. Revisiting data continued to the write-up stage. Following my interest in the particularities of this case (Grandy, 2010), I explored all data and generated an initial list of important ideas (Braun and Clarke, 2006). These core ideas became my sorting phrases guiding my data reduction into tables consistent with Miles, Huberman and Saldana's (2014) data reduction strategy. My initial table encompassed general issues of interest noted across teachers' interviews, textual displays and observations. The sorting phrases carried as many thick expressions as possible making the table extensive.

### *2. Generating initial codes*

For better focus, using ideas in my first thick explorative table (and going back to initial copies for confirming contexts), I prepared a compressed and relatively less-extensive table (Appendix 4A: Teachers' Table 2a), capturing all key issues winnowed from my initial table. A scrutiny of table 2a indicated two interest areas. Thus, I prepared two other tables to explore the issues: i) Approaches to leadership practice in fostering inclusive cultures (Table 2b) and ii) Challenges and roles for school leaders in facilitating inclusive practices (Table 2c). The main ideas drawn from Table 2a provided codes for columns in table 2c, whilst thick supporting extracts from each participant formed rows. The table allowed easier constant

comparison vertically and horizontally and became a guide in subsequent theme construction (Appendix, Table 2c). Below these tables, interesting dilemmatic issues were noted down. At this stage, I compiled a report for comments before embarking on generating themes.

### *3. Searching/revising/naming themes*

Being intrinsic-oriented, *“more focus was on interpreting meanings rather than aggregate categorising of data”* (Grandy, 2010:3). Thus, having the organised patterns, I stepped back, synthesised, integrated and reflected on ideas based on the experiences of participants, looking for underlying assumptions underpinning data (Braun and Clarke, 2006:13; Grandy, 2010). Through this reflection, labels were interpretively assigned to data expressions (Ryan and Bernard, 2006); inserting an extra top-row on Table 2c to indicate themes. I reviewed the labels, comparing ideas across; cutting and pasting pieces as fitting towards final themes. Throughout, extant literature was useful in theme refinement. Importantly, the understandings emerging suggested that practitioners pursued inclusion with recognition of post-conflict adversity. Thus, I drew from post-conflict related literature for further comparisons.

Analysis of data from pupils followed similar procedures, however, network mapping (Thomas, 2013) was added (Appendix 4PN). Pupils’ write-ups were reduced into tables following core interests: pupils’ understanding of their inclusion; memorable experiences since joining school and interactions with the headteacher and teachers. Key expressions derived from data were then coded, later integrated and reflected upon, to generate themes. For ‘spider diagrams’, I prepared a typed copy of all statements by each pupil in a table format and coded by noting key ideas at the end of each sentence. These codes were then compared and integrated with those from write-ups, before being developed into themes (Table 3a-3e).

The major challenges I experienced during data analysis included stepping away from my data towards development of themes. Going beyond description to theme generation felt like a departure from my current understanding. Likewise, ideas appeared intertwined and deciding what fitted where, was problematic. To make

more sense and organise ideas, integration of emic and etic issues become helpful (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

#### *4. Producing the report*

The structure of the intrinsic case report tends to be emergent in nature (Grandy, 2010), following analysed experiences (Stake, 2003). Yet, an analytic approach that goes beyond data description is essential in advancing emerging arguments (Braun and Clarke, 2006:23). I utilised the work of Davies (2004) on post-conflict education, and Eurocentric and African perspectives on leadership, to situate emerging themes. I compiled themes into a report, along three main areas of interest: learning and development needs of young people in post-conflict circumstances; challenges inherent in meeting these needs, and approaches and roles for school leadership in meeting these challenges.

Throughout the research process, my positioning was crucial.

#### **4.6 Positionality and Reflexivity**

In this thesis, I acknowledge my role as part of the study whilst the teachers and pupils were the subjects whose meanings were sought (Schwandt, 2000; Busher, 2003). My position was underpinned by my background understanding of the research context, having worked as a teacher in Kenya for many years. Additionally, my interest in the study developed during my former experiences in working with children affected by post-election violence. Thus, I was not only a ‘human instrument’ generating information (Merriam 2009:219, Creswell, 2013) but I had self-values through first-hand experience, bearing a local ‘historical inventory’ which inevitably re-surfaced when participants recounted their own experiences. This required my constant self-consciousness. I was also sensitive to the possibility that some teachers who I practiced alongside during the PEV might find my questions rather ‘obvious,’ perhaps making me sound ‘not so genuine’, e.g. “*what needs do you perceive the pupils to have*”? This called for emphasising the uniqueness of this particular school.



Furthermore, having practiced in Kenya, I was aware that some school cultures may perceive researchers as problematic (Busher, 2003) thus constraining participant involvement, or my acceptance. According to Busher, some teachers can potentially alter their attitudes towards researchers when they perceive researchers as educators who are seeking more “*knowledge to increase [teachers’] already overwhelming workload*” (*ibid* p.76). Thus, negotiating power relationships was crucial, especially considering my PhD researcher position. Yet, my engagement in the study revealed that both the participants and I were negotiating different positions (Crang and Cook, 1995) in relation to self-development and connection to the issue under study. For example, during my interviews with the headteacher, his position as “*the headteacher of this school*” re-surfaced occasionally with connotations of authority. However, he also appeared to have certain ‘higher knowledge’ expectations on me as a PhD student, because he was just commencing his own PhD studies. For teachers, while some were undertaking different self-development courses, their position as knowledgeable ‘local teachers’ and ‘community-builders’ came through clearly. Some also tended to position me within ‘our joint-entanglement’ in the PEV atrocities using words like ‘you remember’. Additionally, as a research student, I inevitably subscribed to the “*academy dispositions*” as required in production of academic knowledge, following expected protocols (Crang and Cook, 1995:7). Eventually, my stance in the study became a product of “*social relations within the academy and between it and the larger world*” (*Ibid*).

Recognising my academic and local-advantage positions, I guarded against imposing my assumptions, intending to understand how these practitioners made sense of their own experiences within their individual circumstances. I accepted my role as that of generating and co-constructing “*situated knowledge*” within situated human relations (Thomas, 2013:144). This meant, constantly reflecting on my position and situation against issues emerging in the field. However, as Silverman (2005) asserts, I utilised my past experiences and academic awareness in sourcing data, concurring with Shenton (2004) that the background, qualifications and experiences of a researcher enhance the credibility test of the overall work. This understanding was

*“equally important to the adequacy of procedures”* (p.68). Indeed, my teacher position enhanced trust amongst teachers, somewhat ‘legitimising’ my relevance in this school. Nevertheless, I needed to enter the participants’ worlds in ways that safeguarded their interests; ensuring ethical considerations.

#### **4.7 Ethical Considerations and Entry to the Field**

Ethical conduct was important in planning, executing and writing-up the study (Thomas, 2013). I was aware that *“the nature of institution, nature of people being investigated and socio-political contexts”* could impact on accessibility and the extent of information obtainable from participants (Busher, 2003:76). Consequently, six months before fieldwork, I emailed an ‘expression of interest’ letter to the headteacher; followed by a generic plan covering the aims and anticipated participants for my study (Appendix 4J). This aimed to create awareness of what the study entailed and the possible sought-after input (McCrum and Hughes, 2003) allowing participants to prepare for my presence in line with their circumstances. I then had a telephone conversation with the headteacher explaining my interest. Before entering the field, I gained ethical approval from the School of Education Research Ethics Committee, University of Edinburgh, for working with adults and children as required by the University and BERA’s research protocols.

Arriving in Kenya, I visited the school to introduce myself to the headteacher, in person. Having secured acceptance in the school, I visited the County Education office for official permission to carry out research in this school. This ‘bottom-up’ negotiation aimed to avoid presenting myself as an imposition from the County office, safeguarding my relations with my hosts. It took me three visits to the County office to secure consent (Appendix 4K). During my subsequent visit to the school, I learnt that the headteacher had informed teachers about my coming. He called a staff briefing at break-time, introduced me as a *“teacher doing research”*, and asked me to talk about my interests, which I did. I explained to the teachers that their participation was purely on voluntary basis; allowing them to ask any questions. For me, the headteacher’s introduction seemed to suggest dual expectations from me (I

can teach although currently doing research), evoking a need for self-monitoring. The headteacher provided the overall consent at school level (McCrum and Hughes, 2003) mentioning to the teachers about my long-term stay. I was similarly introduced to all pupils and the school community at assembly.

Having expressed my interest to work with standard four pupils, the headteacher asked two standard four class teachers (Roda and Mambo) if they could guide me around the school to meet other class teachers in respective classrooms for individual consent (see appendix 4L) (Legard, Keegan and Wart, 2003). As noted in section 4.3.2, four class teachers declined participation. Having accepted participation, Mambo and Roda provided initial consent to access particular children in standard four. After meeting with the selected pupils, I sought their personal consent to participate before commencing the activities. I explained about confidentiality, giving every participating child a letter to take home for their parents' consent, with an opt-out option (Appendix 4M). A period of two weeks was allowed before commencing planned activities. Neither children nor parents returned the letters, so I took the silence for consent. The headteacher had mentioned to me about the possibility of this outcome, noting that they (teachers) often acted as 'guardians' for children's welfare at school – as a responsibility from the government and parents.

The information in the letters was put in easily understood language (Kirk, 2007), with my picture on it. I emphasised that participation was on a voluntary basis and they could withdraw as and when desired (Punch, 2002). Throughout the process, I checked that they still wished to participate. It was also possible that responsible adults (teachers or parents) would expect to know about my communications with pupils (Kirk, 2007) so they were informed in advance that pupils' information would remain confidential, apart from where I might perceive pupils to be at risk. I assured pupils of confidentiality in the event of such circumstances, and furthermore, I supposed, and soon found in practice, that by working closely with their teacher counsellor (Roda), any concerns could be re-directed for her attention with the child's consent.

Working with vulnerable children, I needed to balance my aims with the safeguarding of pupils' welfare (McCosker, Bernard and Gerber, 2001). Although I supposed that asking children about their memorable experiences in the new school would elicit more positive, rather than negative, experiences (Takayanagi, 2008), there were possibilities for elicitation of strong historical feelings, like sadness due to relocation or new insecurities. Thus, I deliberately delimited pupils' experiences to those within the new school as opposed to historical home-based experiences, whilst using, what I considered, as nonintrusive guiding questions (see Table 4.5).

In addition, drawing-out the 'most vulnerable' children from the bigger vulnerable group was likely to suggest unintentional 'stigmatisation' of selected pupils or negative labelling (Specialist Research Ethics Guidance Paper, undated). In purposively selecting the participants as those 'most at risk,' I requested class teachers to guard against stigmatising effects (McCosker, Bernard and Gerber, 2001), e.g. by indicating to the selected that they had overcome many challenges and remained in school; victors not victims.

Furthermore, cultural power-relationship between children and adults could be underpinned by local cultural values (Mwaka and Musamas, 2011). Additionally instances of child abuse or neglect, in which adults may be implicated, or be unaware of, could emerge (Walsh, 2005). From my experience in Kenya, children tend to be perceived as occupying a lesser status than adults, their voices often represented by adults somewhat dismissing their moral legitimacy (Ridge, 2002). In this case, I could not rule out the possibility that some pupils participated because an adult, e.g. teacher/me had requested it (Kirk, 2007). However, I reiterated to them that their participation was purely on voluntary basis, and that their passion for education and capability to express their perspectives led to their selection. I also clarified that all their views as individuals were valued and valid, and importantly, that this exercise was not a test (Shaw *et al.*, 2011).

Alongside consideration for vulnerable children, there were inevitable disruptions in school schedules, requiring time re-allocation or requesting for extra time (Cohen *et*

*al.*, 2011). In fact, having not encountered ‘long-term-stay’ researchers before, the headteacher initially found my proposed stay as ‘too long’. So, I co-planned all visits with participants, letting them suggest their preferred time-slots, spread across my bounded time. However some events unfolded routinely, e.g. assembly, closing days, whilst other were ‘naturally’ impeded, e.g. Roda fell ill and the headteacher attended ‘emergency’ County meetings, postponing the second interview twice, while the pupils’ ‘spider activity’ was postponed due to rescheduled exams.

Additionally, recognition was given to research being neither neutral nor innocent (Sikes and Gale, 2006). Thus, confidentiality and anonymity was safeguarded, using pseudonyms for all respondents, however, reference to the headteacher, deputy and senior teacher required their positions to be made clear due to my interest in understanding leadership and positions. I made them aware of this stance to which they consented. For pupils, although my interest was not gender-based vulnerability, pupils were asked to choose preferred gender-sensitive names in case of future gender-related study interests. All data were kept in my personal drawer under key and lock. Due to the academic nature of the study, participants were made aware of the possibility of future publication, thus soliciting their consent. Confidentiality and anonymity were recurrently emphasised during the entire research process and observed in reporting. A statement about this commitment appeared in all consent letters and oral communication (Cohen *et al.*, 2011).

Beyond safeguarding ethical issues, I pursued trustworthiness of the data collected.

#### **4.8 Achieving Trustworthiness**

Consistent with Guba’s (1981) principles of ensuring rigour in qualitative studies, trustworthiness was in-built into the research design. For Guba, trustworthiness involves aspects of credibility, transferability, confirmability and dependability, which purportedly pursue conventions of validity and reliability. Validity, i.e. the degree to which research processes and findings measure what is intended, and, reliability, i.e. the possibility of replication of research procedures to obtain

consistent results (Golafshani, 2003) are debatable in qualitative studies (Shenton, 2004). Qualitative studies emphasise the ever changing nature of social phenomena; making predictability problematic and “*validity less applicable*” (Yin 2009:63; Thomas 2011:66). According to Guba, a demonstration of credibility (internal validity) considerably ensures dependability (reliability). Credibility concerns the truth value, i.e. the degree of similarities between data collected and the phenomenon represented (researcher versus respondents’ constructs). ‘Truth’ derives from respondents’ perceptions.

On entering the field, I was aware that the credibility of information generated could be affected by my presence, especially if participant behaviour was altered towards “*ethical correctness*” to produce researcher-friendly responses (Silverman, 2005:31). I felt that such situations were initially inevitable, but familiarity, building trust, and progressive immersion (Guba, 1981) moderated such tendencies. Equally, I sought to ensure that participants understood that they could withdraw at any time so that they did not feel coerced to give information (Shenton, 2004), and indeed some teachers declined involvement. For class-visits, prior timetables were co-planned with individual teachers enhancing chances of self-allocating time, when they can freely engage. All visits fell soon after break, so I asked teachers if I could arrive some minutes into the break for some informal [ice-breaker] chat. This enhanced blending in; looking around for potential information/leads and countering the ‘inspector’ mentality. Importantly, I familiarised myself with the school context (Guba, 1981) and understood the languages spoken by field members making information more accessible to me than a ‘distanced’ researcher. However, I suspended my knowledge of the broader context to firstly examine the particularities of this case (Stake). Credibility also required a search for similarities in data where multiple subjective realities existed. This meant there was no “*absolute knowledge of what the real world is like.*” Thus, I accounted for different views in their entirety (Guba, 1981:80) examining data against the respondents’ own perceptions.

Similarly, as Guba suggests, I utilised different methods to generate information, each making up for the limitations of the other. Whilst observations did not explain

certain elements, subsequent interviews did. Interviews referenced particular texts-on-walls and locating the particular referential filled-in the detail. I also took photographs during occasions that captured activities in action for cross-examining responses (Guba 1981:85). Guba calls such referential ‘raw slices-of-life’ data. Likewise, multi-level participation enabled hearing varied views. For instance, understanding teachers’ views on post-conflict challenges enhanced information from the headteacher, the pupils and related observations. Additionally, the multiple encounters with members enabled confirming or revising earlier stances. For example the deputy initially saw school leadership more towards keeping order, but later emphasised the moral aspects tied to local out-of-school concerns. I also attended and wrote notes on group and whole school activities which to a palpable extent flowed ‘naturally.’ As Guba suggests, my “*prolonged engagement*” enhanced my immersion and blending-in to get the inside feel, however, guarding against “*going native*” (p.84-85). For instance, when treated like an insider during general discussions, I was expected to offer suggestions. Yet, I had to contain my curiosity in order to assert my researcher orientation. Other instances were ‘nerve-stretching’, like when a teacher said that all children have a right to a parent, my first internal reaction was “but some have deceased parents!”

To achieve dependability, i.e. consistency of inquiry processes (Guba), I made explicit the assumptions, processes and procedures followed in the entire research activity. However, being a human instrument and anticipating multiple realities, response to insights and other sensitivities was inevitable. This meant that what might have been assumed to be ‘instability’ formed ‘reality’. Thus, any changes and insights along the process were embraced and explained. Generally, the overall design, operational details and limitations provide modest ideas of going about a similar study in such circumstances (Guba, 1981; Shenton, 2004).

Towards transferability, I required understanding the similarities between transferring and receiving contexts. As Guba points out, generalisations are impossible in qualitative terms because the “*phenomenon is intimately tied to times and contexts*” (p.80). Thus, I present descriptive and interpretive statements relevant

to my context, seeking particularity and ordinariness (Stake, 2003). To allow vicarious experiences for the readers (Stake, 2003), I provide detailed contextual information, geographical location and the particular circumstances of the study (Shenton, 2004). Here I invite readers to identify aspects that relate to their situations and draw insights whilst appreciating contextual differences. However, this is to be taken cautiously because as Merriam (1998) argues, I am limited in my knowledge of the “*receiving context*” and imposing typicality is problematic. Bassey (1999) adds that a case is a singularity accompanied by researcher interests that might negate those of other researchers. While its location in a selected geographical area presents limitations to generalisability (Elliott, 2005: 22-25), Stake (1994) argues that the prospect of transferability should not be discarded because, although unique, it is an example within a broader group of cases. Indeed where similarities are noteworthy for specific instances, transferability can occur (Stake, 2003). For instance, issues on fostering inclusive cultures; roles for school leaders in meeting pupils’ needs and multi-directional leadership approaches in pursuing inclusivity are potentially insightful across regions. This is especially so seeing the dearth in knowledge on experiences of school leaders in fostering inclusive practices in post-conflict schooling, globally (Clarke and O’Donoghue, 2013).

Finally, I attempted confirmability by using the discussed methods and procedures to obtain experiences of my participants rather than my preferences. Yet, my allegiance to the academy often intruded in the shape of “*theoretical baggage*” (Blaikie, 2000:103) which potentially introduced particular ways of thinking about data. So, I purposed to tease out the participants’ information (Stake, 2003) from raw data (Guba, 1981) and comparison with extant literature came after initial analysis. However, the study had some limitations.

#### **4.9 Limitations of Study**

Being the human instrument in data collection and carrying out direct observations was problematic (Yin, 2009). Equally, I was conducting a single intrinsic case study in times characterised by calls for ‘generalisability’ (Shenton, 2004). Humanly, I had



to contend with selective recall/attention, along with possibilities for emotional entanglement in certain cases, or the prospect of ‘going native’. This required deliberate efforts to balance human-self, ethics, objectivity and ‘academy’ allegiance (Crang and Cook, 1995) to achieve my aims. For observations, I endeavoured to use the least intrusive approaches (Thomas, 2013) although recognising that the ‘seen’ was not necessarily ‘the underlying’. I accepted explanations of seen behaviour (‘truth’) from participants’ perspectives, knowing that ultimately, I would present the informants’ subjective accounts (Cohen *et al.*, 2006:133). Observations also required substantial time, energy and ‘exposing’ observed incidences. I did follow-ups with different participants in order to make sense of actions and activities, taking caution not to present this as ‘spying’. Whereas my interest featured a unique case in Kenya, the situatedness of the topic in broader educational discourses generated immense dilemma, as I was seeking particularity whilst desiring modest transferability (Shenton, 2004; Stake, 1995). Yet, the power of example (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Thomas, 2010) alongside internal generalisations and sufficient contextual detail remained, expecting readers to draw insights where similarities occur (Grandy, 2010).

#### **4.10 Conclusions**

This chapter discussed the qualitative nature of the study adopting an interpretivist approach to understanding practice. The socially constructed nature of social reality and the particularity of the phenomenon under study led to the decision to use an intrinsic case-study approach. Data collection was multi-level, using semi-structured interviews and observations, wall-text displays and pupils’ semi-structured write-ups and ‘spider diagrams’. I recognised my position as a human instrument, accepting that my teacher background; knowledge of context and academic orientations shaped the study in certain respects. Through ethical considerations, I safeguarded participants from any potential harm, and by adopting the described procedures, I enhanced the trustworthiness of evidence gathered. Having adopted the discussed methodology for my fieldwork, in chapter 5, I present my findings, starting with RQ1 on learning and development needs of conflict-affected children, and then RQ2, on challenges inherent in addressing these needs.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS**

### **Perceptions of Learning and Development Needs of Conflict-Affected Children and Challenges Faced in Meeting These Needs**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

In chapter 4, I identified my study as located in the interpretivist approach and reality as socially constructed by actors. In this chapter, I present my analysis and interpretation of data in two sections. Section one draws from two activities with children: the semi-structured write-ups and ‘spider diagrams’ (see section 4.4.4). These activities sought to identify what pupils perceived as their learning and development needs in post-conflict education. Remarks made by teachers regarding the selection criteria of pupil participants, and general information on the school history and demographics, are used to situate the discussion on pupils’ needs. In section two, I draw on data from teachers’ and headteacher’s interviews, field notes, observations and text-displays to present the challenges encountered by schools and school leadership in meeting post-conflict schooling needs.

In section one, I present themes related to research question one: “How did conflict-affected children perceive their own learning and development needs in relation to their inclusion in education after post-election violence, and how were these addressed through their interactions with their headteacher and teachers?” My findings in this section demonstrate that, although the post-election violence saw children bringing into, or encounter within school, various complex experiences (family fragmentation, fearing/suspicion of ‘others’, examination-related fears and social-emotional needs), pupils knew exactly what they needed to achieve from their school learning experiences. Although they valued their teachers’ support, understanding their own circumstances made pupils active actors in their learning and development in ways that inspired individual responsibility for self and others e.g. working together and behaving well towards others in order to foster cohesion and retention in school. To combat local forces interfering with their education,

pupils adopted proactive mechanisms, e.g. peer-support groups (herein termed peer-keeping) to navigate their day-to-day experiences in and outside school. The young people perceived valuable learning to be that which enabled good outcomes towards future economic stability, social inclusivity and respectability, and ability to support disadvantaged others. Importantly, pupils recognised how the headteacher and teachers reinforced peer relations at school, e.g. pupils constructing classroom norms, or teachers role-modelling what they expected pupils to do.

To contextualise this argument, I begin by presenting background information relating to the pupils, which allows an understanding of the experiences that they brought into school. This indicates both aspects of pupils' strengths and intersecting challenges. The challenges provide indications as to how approaches by the headteacher and teachers might meet pupils' needs. Secondly, I present what the sixteen young people perceived as their learning and development needs, whilst highlighting what they understood as the role of the headteacher and teachers in meeting their needs, which were: accessing and feeling accepted in school; knowing the school and expectations; learning towards a brighter future; social development and peer-connectedness. As the section ends, I highlight two other areas that pupils mentioned about practitioners' roles in influencing their retention in education, i.e. role modelling values, and nurturing life-skills. Finally, I draw conclusions from pupils' findings before presenting section two.

#### 5.1.1 Contextualising Pupils' Learning and Development Needs: Individual Profile

As described in chapter 4, I asked teachers to identify 16 Standard/Grade four pupils who faced 'unique difficulties but who stayed on in school despite their challenges.' The expected age-range for Grade four in Kenya is 9-10 years. From my experience, however, a child's grade-level is not always dependent on their chronological age, especially in post-conflict contexts where absence from education can have delayed class progression. Table 5.1 provides basic profile information about the participating pupils. There is some additional information for some pupils which was provided by teachers, or emerged during the activity sessions. The groups'

overarching characteristics were that they experienced post-election violence and many were living in absolute poverty.

**Table 5.1: Pupils' Profile Information with Additional Remarks <sup>3</sup>**

Name	Sex	Age	Area of Residence	Year of Joining School	Additional Remarks
Felista	F	10	IDP	2010	Emotional difficulties; poetic and comedian
Foska	F	11	IDP	2010	Dual-ethnicity, recites poetry
Jey	F	10	IDP	2010	Orphan (sibling reared)
Joan	F	10	IDP	2010	-
Joy	F	11	IDP	2010	Difficulties in written work
Isabella	F	12	IDP	2010	Continuous medication, personal problems
Shaline	F	10	IDP	2010	-
Zippy	F	11	IDP	2010	-
Dan	M	10	IDP	2010	-
Deric	M	11	IDP	2010	-
John	M	12	IDP	2010	Difficulties in written work
Noah	M	10	Non camp	2012	Unsettled family – moves between homes
Peter	M	9	IDP	2010	Continuous medication; home concerns
Shem	M	12	IDP-Out	2010	Sometimes does scrap metal deals
Sinbird	M	12	IDP	2010	Dual-ethnicity; good artist/footballer
Vern	M	9	Non camp	2010	Lives 7km away from school

Field Research Information October 2013- April 2014.

Table 5.1 shows that the majority of pupils resided in the IDP camp after the PEV skirmishes, with only three non-camp children. One of these, Shem, had lived in the camp before moving out with his parents. Pupils' write-ups and views from teachers

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<sup>3</sup> All names are pseudonyms

'IDP' connotes those living in the camp

suggested that all pupils were experiencing overlapping concerns alongside being internally displaced persons. The interaction between these concerns shaped each pupil's schooling experiences differently. For instance, Foska and Sinbird were dual-ethnic and were each separated from one parent due to PEV-related concerns. According to their class teachers (Jo and Roda), Foska relocated to the camp with her mother and other siblings because her mother belonged to the 'evicted tribe', leaving their father behind because he belonged to the 'evicting tribe'. Sinbird relocated to the camp with his father leaving his mother behind for similar reasons. Having arrived in the new school in this state, Sinbird mentioned his "*very generous first class teacher*," who he said, "helps me in things about my education and life". All of the teachers suggested that Felista had severe emotional difficulties. According to the Deputy, Felista had attacked a boy severely hurting him "*perhaps because of what she saw during the violence*." Felista's class teacher said she was traumatised from her past and occasionally became absent-minded, aggressive or withdrawn. Vern lived 7km away from school and left before I completed my fieldwork. The Deputy said he was still trying to establish his whereabouts. Noah, reported to school late for first term 2014. He lived in a fragmented family, and his grandmother took over his caregiving after his family split. Jey was an orphan and sibling reared. Initially, she expressed her fear of all teachers and pupils, sometimes isolating herself. Isabella and Peter were on long-term medication, which not only depleted scant family resources, but impacted on their daily tasks in school. Indeed, Peter indicated that his parents discouraged him from schooling, whilst Isabella mentioned wanting to give-up schooling because of her many problems. From the write-ups, John's and Joy's writing abilities indicated they were struggling with academic work. Both repeated grade four in January 2014.

While these conditions depict the extent to which some pupils' lives were disoriented, Felista and Foska had poetic abilities. From my observation of school ceremonies [Appendix 5.1] and according to the two girls, they were well-recognised at school level for their abilities and both noted how participation in these activities made them really like school. Sinbird was well-known for drawing. This profile information suggested that the outcomes of PEV interacted and shaped pupils' circumstances

differently, impacting on their social-stability and pursuance of education. Yet accessing school enabled some pupils' strengths to thrive despite these difficulties. This is the background against which I present a thematic analysis of the learning and development needs emerging across the sixteen pupils.

### 5.1.2 Pupils' Learning and Development Needs

At the most fundamental level, every child has a right to a basic education that responds to their needs and development whatever their circumstances (WC-EFA, April, 1990). Accordingly, basic learning needs "*refer to the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values necessary for people to survive, to improve the quality of their lives, and to continue learning*" (Ibid, p. ix). When asked to tell about their memorable experiences of joining this school and what inclusion in education meant for them, all pupils expressed how delighted they were to access school after a period of non-attendance, and, although indicating some elements of uncertainty about the new school community, they valued school experiences and perceived their needs as:

- i) Access and acceptance in the new school
- ii) Assurance of school's predictability and expectations
- iii) Learning for a better future
- iv) Education to foster social-consciousness
- v) Social development
- vi) Peer-keeping

(See, Appendix 4PN, theme development)

Each of these will now be discussed in detail.

#### *i) Access and Acceptance*

Pupils had been concerned about their exclusion from education before the construction of the new school. For all of them, accessing a school at last was a 'dream come true'. Joan wrote, "*First before I came to this school it was very difficult for us to get into a school, when I got in, I felt like somebody who wanted to learn very much*". Joan also linked this exclusion to material needs, "*I felt very good to be sponsored, if I was told to buy uniform, school bag, textbooks and exercise*

*books, I know I could not do all those things". Isabella said, "My first day I was very happy to be in school, I would never think there will be a school built near for us".* Similar findings on the challenges experienced by conflict-affected pupils like lack of access or materials are reported in other post-conflict settings, for example in Sri Lanka by Jaya (2013) and in Rwanda and Burundi by Obura and Bird (2009).

In addition to concerns about access, pupils were anxious about being welcomed and accepted in their new school community. Perhaps the fact that children were entering a new school in a new location bearing a history of violent displacement from former settlements created such apprehension. Pupils revealed anxiety about forming new relationships. This is something which adults seemed less aware of. For example, although the new school constructed by the sponsors was presented as a new beginning, to some children, the 'fear of others' lingered and affected their psychological wellness at school.

*The first time I came to this school I was excited and overjoyed, but I feared some children and all the teachers. When I did wrong I was frightened and very, very ashamed, so I could run into the class and close the door. After some weeks I started being free ... the teachers liked me more and more. I like this school because pupils like me. I don't have enemies all of them help me. (Jey)*

Though alienated by fear, Jey felt secure and trusting after a while, knowing that she had no 'enemies' in the new school and that both pupils and teachers were helpful. By perceiving school as a safe and welcoming environment, her emotional safety and social relations were enhanced making school meaningful to her.

For Dan, acceptance was manifested through the knowledge that there were people helping him to build a future which might have seemed doomed by PEV experiences.

*When I came to this school, I saw that people love me, I saw everyone is with me and I felt so happy to see people love me in this school and they [are] helping me to build my future.*

All the children expressed their desire for welcoming cultures. Zippy wrote, “*when I came to this school, I was welcomed by my class teacher, he was very happy to see a new child in his class*”.

Yet, of particular concern to a large majority of the pupils in relation to ‘acceptance’ were the interviews carried out prior to admission and subsequent termly tests. The data shows that tests created uncertainty about initial acceptance in this school, a feeling of inadequacy in case of ‘failing’ or, were determiners of pupils’ progression along grades - and this was disturbing them. For instance, Joan thought that ‘failing’ entry tests might lead to no admission.

*First, before I came to this school it was very difficult for me to get into school. I was fearing, my mother was also having great trepidation ... when I heard that I had passed my examination and I am allowed to get into this school my heart was full of excitement (Joan)*

Noah said, “*for me to be able to come to this school I did an examination and I passed, I was as happy as a king.*” Conversely, although the entry-test created anxiety [or assumptions] about non-acceptance, how the headteacher and teachers responded to pupils’ attainment provided psychological stimulation which enhanced self-esteem and shaped perceptions of education.

*The following day we did an examination, I became number two headteacher deputy and the senior teacher were very excited. They told me to study very hard and you will become a doctor. The following day at night I dreamt that I’m in the hospital treating sick people. I decided to tell my parents my dream. They told me to work hard and my dream will be answered by God. (Zippy)*

Zippy added that she liked school because her class teacher always called her ‘doctor’ since she was good at science.

Acceptance was also enhanced through recognition and nurturing of pupils’ individual talents. A majority of pupils felt that such recognition by teachers and peers enriched their participation in school. These abilities were mainly in non-



examinable subjects. Once identified, pupils developed these talents, expanding their learning experiences and interaction amongst peers and teachers in distinctive ways (Appendix 5.1-2). Felista valued school due to such recognition,

*By the time I got to standard four, I had developed ability to perform comedies. Everybody knew my talents, my teachers recognised my talents, and I was very happy for this”.*

Shaline added, *“I have been participating in music festival that has helped me to come to school”*. Sinbird wrote, *“my first class teacher, she loved me because I was her good artist. I drew pictures and people were amazed”*.

Kum’s (2011) study of refugees in UK schools identified the difficulties, stigmatisation and bullying that newcomers experienced in their new schools from the host community. The preceding evidence demonstrates that practitioners can complicate or help ease pupils’ apprehension and disorientation in school. Fear related to exams has been found destructive elsewhere (Salmi, 2006). More welcoming and supportive environments clearly facilitated transition from violence towards adjusting in life. Beyond acceptance, pupils wanted to know more about the new school and, the expectations of them in the learning processes.

*ii) Knowing the school and what was expected of them*

The preceding evidence has indicated that experiences of violence disrupted children’s schooling pattern, disoriented their lives and created uncertainty about living with ‘others’. It is therefore not surprising that pupils had a strong interest in their new school’s predictability; knowing what it could offer towards their learning and development, as well as what was expected of them in the school routine and culture. Noah expressed the reassurance from headteacher and teachers:

*The headteacher, deputy, senior teacher and class teacher talked many good things about the school, the performance, behaviour, school property and cleanliness. I heard all the words about this school and wished it will be the best school. I was very excited and said to me, my wishes, dreams and hopes came true.*

Others expressed it differently. Peter said he was happy to “*know many things about our school*” and was eager to “*learn and know many things*”. For Dan, knowing that the school was going to be supportive made him desire to “*learn more to understand myself*” whilst knowing that education provided in this school was beneficial led Vern to say, “*if education is life, then I’m encouraged*”. For Joy, walking around the school with her class teacher showing them many things around the compound not only bonded her with the new environment, but made her know what was expected of them in terms of responsibility and shared-ownership. Joy noted, “*she told us from the first day that we love our school, flag, and flowers, everything we see in this school, to love one another and work very hard*”.

Subsequently, understanding expectations like needing to ‘work hard’ made pupils accept individual responsibility in making their participation in education successful as they focused on future prospects. Whilst acknowledging that teachers were supportive in academic learning, learning also became an individual obligation and children knew they had to negotiate other less pleasant aspects of schooling, e.g. test regimes, in order to progress. Consequently, the majority of pupils noted how they invested individual efforts. Isabella said, “*I am working hard in school so that I can succeed in my exams so that I can be promoted to the next class*”. Joan noted, “*to go to another class I put more effort to pass examination*”. Shem wrote “*I did my exams, I passed and I was able to move up to class four*”. By attributing success to individual effort, children perceived failure as own responsibility; and did not relate it with teachers or school system. However, they appreciated supportive teachers. Shem said, “*My maths teacher helps me to do maths*”.

Although teachers were careful to celebrate individual talents amongst pupils and pupils accepted the need to work hard and progress academically, there were other indications that ‘working hard’ in the broader educational context was associated with test outcomes which also shaped progression to the next year group. Joy and John, who were less-able academically, repeated Grade four in January 2014, despite being overage (12 years old). They both seemed to take responsibility for their own non-progression, accepting the blame for their failure. Joy noted that she repeated

because her marks were low whilst John said he did not pass his tests. Despite a report by Kenya Institute of Education (2010) showing concern about overemphasis on cognitive-oriented learning which was noted to hinder inculcation of practical skills, examination-oriented learning continues in Kenyan schools using reductive assessments of educational outcomes. This narrows evidence of learning at school to measurable outcomes for all children (KIE, 2010; MOE, 2012) constraining other expectations from children, like social-emotional development.

Beyond accessing school, experiencing acceptance, knowing the new school and expectations, education was perceived to facilitate pupils' upward mobility with prospects for economic stability and social respect.

### *iii) Education for a better future*

This particular need revealed pupils' awareness of existing societal inequalities amongst the Kenyan communities. Across the sixteen pupils' write-ups, all pupils explicitly reflected on the symbolic meaning attached to education in the wider society, expressing their quest for that education that becomes a 'key' to unlock better futures. Joan noted, *"I am very happy to have education, education is the key to our life."* They also perceived education as instrumental in increasing their chances of good jobs, for enhanced economic status, respect and responsibility for other disadvantaged groups in their community. For them, education equipped them with skills to escape their current adversity with prospects of a *"bright life"* (Shaline) or *"success in life"* (Zippy). Deric wrote;

*I want to learn and when I grow up and complete university, I will help my parents and all those people of long ago who never had enough education ... I would like to be a doctor after education, to be able to help sick people ... treat them and save them from early death, may God help me and help all the other pupils to work very hard and be respectable people everywhere we go.*

Deric's assertion suggested that pupils' viewed successful education as resulting in 'good jobs' (e.g. doctor) and securing societal respect. The young people implied a link between perceived 'good jobs' and 'respect.' Indeed, some pupils assumed that

lower-income jobs made people less valuable, and avoiding such jobs could only be possible through education. Vern wrote, “*my life in school is to prepare me for my future life because when I grow up I do not want to be a **beba***”<sup>4</sup>.

Foska expressed worries at the thought of not gaining education qualifications towards a good job. She revealed how she and her peers felt about pursuing education, visualising educated people as having little to do with uneducated people, the latter feeling like ‘social rejects’ in the company of the educated. This thinking in turn enhanced Foska’s resilience in school, seeking to pursue education to avoid such embarrassment in future: “*Even at school, my friends support me to not to leave school. They say, in future when I meet them in offices, how will I feel?*”

John also indicated that education could open doors for respect. “*I want to be well educated and become a respectable person in future.*” These sentiments indicated that pupils were sensitive to how inclusion or exclusion from education impacted on social mapping and relations, pointing out to the social stigma associated with living in circumstances of poverty which children appeared to associate with having less education.

It is possible to argue that pupils were reflecting on their own livelihoods in the IDP camp with the understanding from teachers’ interviews and Kamungi’s (2013) study that most of their parents were less-educated, with unstable livelihoods, and that societal attitudes towards IDPs were unfavourable. No wonder pupils valued education as a means to increase chances for employment or skill development towards better futures. As discussed in chapter 2, Wambugu (2011) in Kenya found that whereas better qualifications did not necessarily translate into some employment, they increased chances for formal employment. Importantly, as Nicholai and Triplehorn (2003) noted, post-conflict education, even the very basic type, provides children time for self-expression, social learning from peers and learning skills to

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<sup>4</sup> A *beba* is a porter in city markets, uneducated, not well-groomed, and normally hired to carry very heavy loads on his shoulders for a few pennies.

survive in hostile climates, e.g. writing skills to request help from well-wishers or taking social responsibility over oneself.

*iv) Education to foster social-consciousness*

Beyond education for reconstruction and development of personal lives, education was perceived as a community good to be shared through acts of community pay-back or altruism. Isabella said, *“it means I get education and make up my life, I help my parents and other needy people”*. By extending their educational benefits to their communities, pupils were suggesting an awareness of existing social challenges and asserting individual agency in bringing about social change. Shaline noted that, having been supported by others, she desired community pay-back, *“it means I will brighten my life, I will help other people how I have been helped”*, while Dan wrote, *“it means when I become a big man I too help my relatives and people with disabilities”*. Their degree of social responsiveness however carried tones of both historical and situational disadvantage and injustices. For instance, Deric pointed out the different levels of disadvantaged groups saying, *“I want to learn and when I grow up ... I will help all those people of long ago who never had enough education”*. Here, he appears to be alluding to historical marginalisation or deprivation of education. He also mentioned sick people who die prematurely for lack of treatment and all pupils in their school who needed respect wherever they went.

To these young people, education was instrumental in increasing their agency for the development of their community. This finding resonates what Takayangi (2010) found in a slum school in Zambia where orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) chose to remain in their local poorly resourced school due to a sense of wanting to belong and improve their own community. While it is possible to argue that pupils' sensitivity to societal challenges was informed by their own post-conflict predicaments, they also revealed an awareness of the deeper social-economic inequalities that exist in Kenya considering that about 46% of people live below the poverty line (KIHBS, 2006/7, KIPPRA, 2009). This also shows how analytical children can be about societies and their level of consciousness about social in/justice.

Furthermore, some pupils saw education as a means towards their independence and self-reliance. It was possible that by reaching such independence, they would develop their sense of responsibility, earning social respectability, whilst a sense of responsibility was also likely to impact positively on their independence. For example, as many noted, being victims of violence, relocation to the camp resulted in households being dependant on support from others to a certain extent. Isabella wrote, *“every child here has his or her sponsor, we have sponsors who provide money for activities and exams”*. Being sponsored would suggest dependence on sponsors. Yet it seemed for some pupils that dependency was perceived as necessity for the present but not a future option. For Joan, education meant that in future *“... I can control my life, have independence, and help my parents and grandparents”*. Jey valued school *“so that I can be educated, help myself in the next future and help my family”*. Dan noted that he was happy to be supported but wanted education *“to build my own future”*, while Zippie wanted to *“succeed in my future life and do many things”*. These views revealed a desire to be economically in charge of their own lives unlike conventional assumptions that poor communities have ‘dependency syndrome.’

#### *v) Social development*

When pupils were asked to mention those teachers who made them really like coming to school and what these teachers did to influence their inclusion and retention in education, (see 4.4.4), pupils explicitly described teachers as nurturing individual and group relations. They expressed how teachers promoted positive behaviour and attitudes towards school by establishing school values. These values promoted group-interdependence and respect for others enhancing a sense of safety. Dan noted, *“when we are fighting class teacher teaches us behaviour and how to try to understand one another”*. For Zippy, the *“teacher on duty encourages us to live well with other pupils and love everybody”*. Isabella wrote, *“headteacher says we love others, to help one another, do work together, and be unselfish”*. The practitioners’ influence appeared to target school relations and beyond, promoting individual and peer-group wellbeing nested on jointly-constructed values.

However, while school-constructed values intended to harmonise rules of group interaction, as Bush and Saltarelli (2000) argue, such rules do not necessarily alter pupils' background-orientations. For instance, despite efforts to provide a friendly and safe atmosphere at school, half of the pupils mentioned cases of pupils who liked fighting or disturbing others. They noted their teachers' interventions in unlearning violence, modifying behaviour or mediating order. Peter for example, accepted the correction of unacceptable behaviour by teachers noting, *"I enjoy life at school because when you are misbehaving the teacher will punish you."* Joan also noted that pupils had written own "rules on the classroom wall," suggesting that teachers allowed pupils' participation in constructing their reference point of 'acceptable behaviour'. These finding echoes what Nicholai and Triplehorn (2003:11) see as children's need for order, because during violence, they lose their sense of living in non-confrontational ways or sense of good-citizenship.

Other pupils mentioned that they liked learning about behaviour, respect or responsibility during classroom lessons. For instance, learning *adabu* (manners/politeness) equipped pupils with knowledge about relating and respecting elders and peers. *"I come to school so that I can learn a lot about adabu, like respecting parents, teachers, grown-ups and even my juniors"* (Deric). Shaline liked school because *"Library teacher asks me to help other pupils who cannot read, I help them and they know how to read."* These values engendered principles of respect, care and concern for others and facilitated social integration. Such findings on learning about behaviour were reported by Winthrop and Kirk (2008). Beyond learning behaviour for individual social development, these findings reveal that headteacher and teachers proactively enlisted the agency of pupils in reversing the effects of violence through incorporating them in constructing their shared norms. Importantly, at the pupils' level, social development benefited from peer-generated norms nurtured through 'peer-keeping'.

#### vi) 'Peer-keeping'

Peer-keeping presented as pupils' means for nurturing a sense of collective ownership of themselves, or 'minding' each other. The majority of pupils noted this

behaviour and expressed their peer connections as instrumental in inculcating a sense of togetherness; even mediating retention for those likely to self-exclude for different reasons. For instance, Peter noted how fellow pupils continually encouraged him to attend school every day even against his parents' wishes: *"My own problem about school, my parents told me don't go to school my friends tell me every morning, 'go to school'"*. Isabella mentioned that she had *"many problems at home"* but she liked school because her friends were supportive. Foska indicated how her friends captivated her persistence in education through reminding her of how desperate her future would be without education. While Shem was noted to engage in scrap-metal dealings risking his education, he noted how his *"good friends at school always help [him] to learn better"*.

It is possible to say that pupils' awareness of the difficult circumstances under which they were negotiating education could have enhanced peer-solidarity. It was clear that they did not perceive themselves as *"passive victims, but as active survivors of experience"* (Nicholai and Triplehorn, 2003:11) navigating shared hardship through mutual support. It also felt like pupils were bringing elements of what Kamungi's (2013) study termed as IDPs' solidarity (e.g. community self-help groups) into their goals of education, or perhaps resisting the IDP stigma by constructing positive group affinities (Young, 2005:2).

The headteacher and teachers reinforced pupils' connectedness in and outside school. In Activity 2, Jey liked the headteacher because he always reminded them to *"come early in the morning to discuss work together, and learn more together."* Vern added, *"Headteacher tells us that we come to school early and support one another"*. It felt like peer connectedness countered fear for 'others', helped unlearning social rejection, and desensitised peer competitiveness towards collaborative learning cultures. Jey initially noted, *"I feared all pupils and teachers ... [but now] I have no enemies in this school, all of them help me"*. The implication was that peer-keeping offered valuable socio-emotional back-up amongst pupils in the process of their learning and development, thus diminishing fears. It also formed 'safety-nets' for pupils, curbing potential exclusions triggered by environmental pressures.



Having presented issues that related to pupils' individual development, children noted two more roles for headteacher and teachers.

### 5.1.3 Other Roles for Headteacher and Teachers in Promoting Inclusivity

In both activities, pupils indicated how the headteacher and different teachers interacted with them making them really like school. This was through role-modelling desired values and inculcating life-skills, in different ways.

#### *i) Role-modelling Values*

According to the pupils, to make sense of inclusiveness at school, teachers role-modelled what they expected pupils to do. Responsible co-existence meant exemplifying by word and deed. School values, e.g. care and concern, were demonstrated through building relationships in ways that influenced pupils' relational behaviours and desire for education. For instance, Felista, Isabella and Joan noted that their class teachers told them personal life stories or just talked with them, and that this helped them see they could also make it in life. Such moments sparked new hope, influencing pupils' liking for school.

*Class teacher also tells us about her life and that God will help us in our cases ... she called me and we talked about life, and she told me that life is so hard without education" (Shaline).*

For Isabella, the class teacher's encouragement promoted her retention:

*Sometimes I have my own problems, but I decide to come to school, sometimes I feel I can't come to school, but my class teacher encourages me to come".*

Sinbird liked their headteacher for not only asking them "*to be encouragers of others*" but for being friendly to him, making him like school: "*When the headteacher comes to teach in our class he must tell everybody that I am his friend*". The headteacher made Foska like school because he taught them well, and they also "*agree with him*" on issues. Foska's assertion indicated that their headteacher interacted with pupils in ways that encouraged consensus. She said, "*he teaches us well, to be generous, kind*

*and honest, and as we agree with him, he is a very good headteacher*". And just as the library teacher asked Shaline to help her peers in reading, she too supported many pupils to know how to read. Dan liked school because the library teacher supported him *"until I now know how to read story books"*. Role modelling was also demonstrated in the ways teachers showed empathy during lessons. Shem liked school because of their English teacher of whom he said, *"She teaches us English very well, like her own children, I have started liking English now."* For others like Shaline, the senior teacher encouraged good citizenship, thus promoting national consciousness.

#### *ii) Life-Skills*

Isabella also wrote that their class teacher talked to them a lot about walking across the vast maize plantation which stands between the IDP camp, orphanage and the school. This was to prepare them in case of any eventualities; *"Sometimes when coming to school we're frightened as we walk through the maize plantation. Our class teacher teaches us things so that you can protect yourself early."* This suggested how susceptible, especially girls, were to 'environmental hazards', e.g. attacks or sexual assaults in the said maize plantations. On a similar note Joy added, *"The deputy tells us not to follow strangers' advice, because they can mislead you."* Such interactions built hope for overcoming individual challenges and equipped pupils with the basics for survival in their circumstances. This showed that perpetuating school values was not the sole responsibility of pupils, but it required reciprocity from teachers. In a study on the impact of leadership in reconciling communities in Rwanda, Staub (2014) identified that since leaders were associated with violence, this association can only be undone through individual role modelling. This implies that, practitioners' exemplification of desired values can cement a whole-school sense of inclusive culture.

#### 5.1.4 Conclusions

Pupils' views provided in-depth illumination of the contextual dynamics shaping both inclusive and leadership practices, with depictions of how practitioners influenced pupils' behaviours, relationships and attitudes towards school. Pupils did

not emerge as vulnerable victims exclusively depending on adults to make sense of their learning needs. Pupils knew what experiences and outcomes enhanced their learning and development; aligning their educational aspirations to their own experiences and seeking to enhance their immediate and future social inclusivity. While the PEV experiences produced or increased pupils' vulnerability, pupils' awareness of societal disadvantage made them active actors in facilitating their own education, e.g. working hard to pass exams, reconstructing social relations, peer-support and having a hopeful attitude in academic and social development. Notably, pupils sought immediate acceptance and future independence, respectability and social responsibility, illustrating awareness of societal inequalities including: social divisions (desiring acceptance in the new school); social disadvantage (helping the sick, those with disability or those denied education); and school discriminative regimes (fears related to denial of admission/progression through exams). Importantly, the headteacher and teachers influenced pupils' relational behaviours and liking of school by recognising pupils' individual talents and allowing different potentials to thrive within, and beyond school walls, thus reconstructing pupils' sense of self-esteem. It was also important for practitioners to psychologically prepare pupils about the school predictability and individual responsibility, helping them to negotiate the inevitable school structures. By role-modelling inclusive cultures, teachers created grounds for unlearning violence and social-rejection.

The preceding findings reveal what pupils perceived as their learning and development needs and the contribution made by their headteacher and teachers in supporting them. The following section presents the complex and contradictory circumstances under which these needs were being addressed.

## **SECTION TWO**

### **Challenges Faced in Meeting Learning and Development Needs in Post-Conflict Education**

#### **5.2 Introduction**

In section one, I have identified what pupils perceived as their learning and development needs. In section two, I present findings related to RQ2: “What challenges are experienced by school leaders in their practice of inclusive education intended to meet the perceived needs of pupils in the post-conflict community school.” The section is an exposition of the contextual dynamics beneath what was supposed to be ‘normalcy’ (KTJC, 2010) as the school attempted to meet pupils’ needs, moving towards some level of social justice. I endeavour to bring to the surface the expressed and the subtle aspects of day-to-day experiences at school suggesting that the interaction between different aspects and actualities of the post-conflict environment resulted in numerous dilemmatic challenges. These indicated the problematic nature of pursuing a meaningful inclusion process for vulnerable children in post-conflict environments.

In this section, I analyse data from interviews and conversations with the headteacher and teachers, one camp resident (spontaneous), texts-on-walls and field observations. These are combined to compile the findings thematically whilst my interpretation of these sources alongside my understanding of context and literature, shapes the discussions. Overall, my findings indicated that pupils’ needs and experiences were multifaceted and tied to the post-conflict situation. This connection generated complex challenges for school and school leadership including: i) disrupted households ii) reversing community disintegration iii) reversing social-emotional distortion and iv), mediating new learning cultures in rigid policy climates.

In mapping pupils’ experiences and needs in tandem with prevailing circumstances, there were discernible dilemmas for teachers in their day-to-day circumstances where their practices reflected on the immediate context, as well as national and global

expectations. Throughout the findings, there was palpable contention between stakeholders, i.e. the Ministry of education (MOE), sponsors, practitioners and parents concerning pupils' needs; pupils' needs being evaluated along what Sayer (2005) in chapter 2, perceived as assumptions and expectations of evaluators. This was regardless of pupils' entrapment in profound social, economic and emotional predicaments. At times, it was clear that practitioners tilted towards contextual allegiances, e.g. expecting children to fit into systemic regimes like national examinations, or expecting children to socialise around 'unfamiliar' norms which did not necessarily match the pupils' background experiences of violence. Against this backdrop, I now examine these challenges.

### 5.2.1 Disrupted Households

According to the participating teachers, one severe consequence of the PEV was that many households that were previously relatively poor (in the Kenyan context) were reduced into extreme poverty. This created competing demands between accessing education and sustaining livelihoods. For instance, Mambo (deputy) said, *"their parents are not able to provide for them even basic needs ... some of them [pupils] go for scrap-metal dealing"*. While the occasional skipping of school to engage with scrap-metal dealing gave pupils extra money for household sustenance, teachers felt that this behaviour risked immediate and future exclusion from education. This was worse for sibling-reared families where one child self-excluded to 'provide' for others. Mambo added, *"now they [two brothers] are taking care of themselves, the bigger one left school and joined the streets, he was there for a whole term"*.

Secondly, due to unstable income, some parents periodically relocated to former settlements (*shamba*) to grow food-crops to support their households while leaving children behind to continue with school. In some cases, one parent was left behind to mind the children. Roda explained, *"Some live with parents, but some of the parents have land somewhere else, so they separate, the father stays here working (casual jobs) and the mother goes to the shamba."* In other cases, children were left with friends or relatives. This strategic separation for coping with adversity resonates with Kamungi's (2013) findings. Yet, this was both beneficial and detrimental:

*If some of them [parents] move, they opt to leave their children behind with some of their friends, relatives or guardians, so they [children] can continue attending school, to us this is healthy because it means high retention rates. (Headteacher)*

Teachers added that children could not accompany parents because of safety concerns in former settlements and that there were narrowed chances for pupils to access any education if they accompanied parents. Whilst remaining behind ensured that children's learning was uninterrupted and their 'safety' safeguarded, the extent of 'safety' in the hands of step-in caregivers (friends/neighbours) was found challenging. Teachers expressed concerns that parents' regular absence constrained parents' constancy in providing social-emotional support, while limited time to follow up home-school learning restricted pupils' learning to school only. Consequently, the headteacher and teachers reasoned that mostly, social-emotional and academic support responsibilities inevitably shifted to school. Teacher Jo argued, *"Children would one time be living with a parent, next time with a neighbour or even joining the orphanage."* Such relocations were found to create a gap in the course of supporting pupils' development or, as a teacher argued, it became challenging to locate adult-figures when seeking parental networks. A similar finding on 'shifted responsibilities' was reported in Nairobi Peace Initiative, Kenya Conference (2012).

Thirdly, practitioners felt that when pupils were left alone or with neighbours/friends, there was a risk of exposure to anti-social behaviour or discontinuity from school due to the camp's day-to-day activities. For instance, the headteacher and teachers explained that many camp residents were trapped in challenging lifestyles after the PEV. Accordingly, many residents were frustrated at the government's inconsideration of their plight, ending up in illicit trades to sustain their livelihoods. As Tina argued, some *"dealings"* exposed children to potential *"abuse by customers, especially girls"* or negatively impacted on pupils' social-moral development.

*They talk of people brewing alcohol. And they take it, you see it's brewed there, there are a number of pupils taking it, we see quite a number of weird behaviours here, so when they come here, they sometimes tend to*

*behave like that...and I have to talk to them giving them facts about alcohol, drugs and the like (Roda)*

These evaluations resulted in a home-school conflict.

#### *The home-school conflict*

A study by KPTJ (2010) found that political instability forced families to diversify their locations of settlement. Interestingly, such mobility meant parents' sacrificing between family sustenance and children retention in the case study school. This situation produced misunderstandings with teachers, especially where teachers reportedly assumed caregiver roles. Arguably, teachers might have had more structured lives than parents, but expected that struggling parents would fit into existing school structures. When parents 'failed' to meet teachers' requirements, teachers' assumed that parents were uncommitted to their children's learning and development.

*Sometimes, a child has a problem, we call a parent, the parent won't come, so what do you do with such a child? In some cases here, it's the teacher who determines if a child stays at home or at school. (Stella, S/T)*

After interviewing the headteacher, I sensed a conflict between teachers' and headteacher's assumptions regarding parents' commitment. As above, while teachers were concerned about parents' contribution in pupils' day-to-day learning and well-being, the headteacher took a slightly different perspective:

*The fact that the parents have surrendered their children to this school is in itself a significant commitment, if they were not committed they would not send them here or anywhere else ... secondly, they follow-up what is happening at school for instance if anything bad happens to their child, like if they are sick and nobody took the child to hospital they will come here. (Headteacher)*

Tina argued that by parents following-up children's affairs only when "anything bad happens to their child," the relationship between home and school was becoming strained because this kind of follow-up suggested fault-finding. Martha preferred follow-ups "at any time" including academic-discussion days.

While all teachers recognised the hardship associated with camp-life, their expectations of parents could be interpreted as indicating deficit thinking. Jess noted, *“their parents have no or very little education, so the work of learning is all left to the teachers”* while Martha added *“It is like whatever you do with them the whole week, when they come on Monday, you start a fresh.”* Yet, it is also possible to argue that, when any family structure is profoundly undermined by violent disruptions, traumatic experiences and social-economic disorientation, time to foster social learning for the young people is constrained as families inevitably struggle for survival (Machel, 1996). For instance, Jo argued that the situation of many pupils could be different if close caregivers were available; listening to or just accessing parental-warmth: *“At home they need somebody to listen to them and show them love.”* Thus, adversity resulted in role-overlap and teachers’ overstepping into parental roles produced frustrations and perceived distance between home and school.

Later on (in 2014) it occurred that, understanding parents’ patterns of life helped adjust some programs in favour of parents’ schedules. As the headteacher and some teachers indicated in interviews towards the end of the fieldwork, such consideration was increasing the chances of parents visiting school as and when they could. In chapter six, I present in detail how school leadership addressed challenges related to household disruptions as well as the tension in home-school relations. I now analyse how the quest for un/learning social division produced challenges for school leaders.

### 5.2.2 Reversing Community Disintegration

As Dryden-Peterson (2011:4) argues, physical integration without social integration during protracted periods suggests *“lack of conscious attention to the social processes of living together”*. In the case study, such attention involved administrators’ supporting children to unlearn social division whilst navigating government-NGO policy stipulations. As section one of this chapter demonstrated, an opportunity to access school for the young people entailed learning to accept and to be accepted by others as well as learning with prospects for social inclusion.



Overcoming community disintegration seemed a fundamental starting point in mediating immediate and future social connections.

Arguably, exclusion from education potentially exacerbates social inequality and triggers discontentment amongst marginalised groups (Davies, 2004) such as the IDPs. Consistent with policy statements (MOE, 2008b), all practitioners believed that providing MVC equal access to education was important because education opportunities enhanced their chances out of poverty. The school's philosophy expressed this intention.

*The uniqueness of this school comes right from its inception where the philosophies of the Ministry of Education and the NGO are in tandem, both using education as a way of improving the lot of children and breaking their poverty cycle, coming up with a future generation of Kenyans who know their strengths and weaknesses, have hope and can be absorbed in the labour market after completing their schooling years (Headteacher)*

Consequently, the school's entry policy targeted children from the IDP camp, the potentially at risk ones, providing them opportunities to access education towards upward mobility just like other Kenyan children elsewhere. A separate school for IDPs helped to provide targeted interventions to their needs, perhaps also offering a seemingly 'unique' community space to reconstruct their disrupted lives together, instead of expanding existing local schools to accommodate them. Although this gave the conflict-affected children a chance to pursue educational goals within a group that shared commonalities of PEV-orientation, teachers identified a social divide jeopardising intergroup acceptance between the IDP community (living in poverty) and the non-IDP community (perceived to be "well-off"). Practitioners argued that this impacted on the IDP children's perceptions of themselves saying that children perceived themselves as belonging to an isolated community or as less-able in ability compared to the few non-camp peers. They argued that school experiences required fostering acceptance for others towards broader social integration. Explaining their intervention, Mambo said:

*It is not like before, children from IDP only, because they were poor, this promotes camp mentality, we thought about it the other way, to include pupils from other communities, this makes these children [from IDP] feel they are part of the society. We did this purposely to help these children think beyond camp levels ... that they can also do better by learning with those from outside.*

Yet, some parents were hesitant in accepting the proposed integration; finding the move unfair. This triggered conflict between parents and the school leadership. Debatably, parents perceived that the school was constructed for the IDPs, making their children perhaps the only ‘legitimate’ beneficiaries. However, being a government school, the headteacher said he was required to admit “*any child living within a reasonable distance from the school*”. The contention seemed to be located in sharing of resources with non-camp pupils (about 30%), supposedly taking advantage of IDPs’ resources. According to the headteacher, no arrangements existed to stop non-camp pupils from benefiting from provisions because many of them were from poor-households - just a few were ‘better-off’ economically. All children were accorded similar treatment. Young (2005:3) provides an explanation that “*where group difference is socially significant for issues of conflict, domination, or advantage, that equal respect may not imply treating everyone in the same way*”. This means, treating camp pupils the same as non-camp ones in sharing resources would be unfair. At another level, Gallagher (2009) explains the complexity in post-conflict settings. He distinguishes between minorities having separate schools by choice and, experiencing forced segregation as in apartheid South Africa. He argues that both can affect the future opportunities available for the young people and exacerbate social divisions. Indeed, segregation encourages pupils to live within their social boundaries whilst redistribution of resources requires both consideration and sensitivity to avoid stigmatising the benefiting children.

Interestingly, the camp and non-camp distinction generated stereotypical assumptions. The deputy observed, “*children see themselves as a society which has been condemned, whenever children are in class, they are thinking about IDP camp, nothing else*”. This resonates a finding in Kamungi’s (2013) study noting that IDP adults were perceived negatively in local communities. These perceptions palpably

filtered into school, evoking the challenge of socially produced labels in pursuing inclusive cultures.

### *Recognition or labelling*

Whereas the deputy's statement [above] echoed what might be perceived as genuine concern for social integration or, a way to stimulating pupils morale to work hard and overcome community perceptions, it also depicted negative assumptions about camp-life; as an underrated social group distanced from the rest of Kenyan society. This also suggested potential institutionalised devaluation of IDPs; pupils being expected to understand and concede that their homes are 'bad' places and thinking about the IDP camp while in class, was somewhat unacceptable. As Jess explained, "*They come from places that are not so good, broken homes, drunkard parents, and when you think about their inclusion in this school, they are well-placed here*". Such dispositions suggested societal rejection of camp-like cultures, thus constructing deficit images of pupils' background in pupils' minds. Tina said, "*I say to them, don't just see yourself living in the camp, so you will marry in the camp, children born in the camp, think beyond the camp*". While teachers were purportedly building pupils' morale towards humanising their devalued status (Staub, 2014) their utterances suggested what Shields (2004) calls pathologising pupils backgrounds based on their 'non-normal' state, consciously or unconsciously.

Such sentiments suggested how the school allowed attitudes or perceptions of the society to filter through into school, shaping school practices. While Jess appeared to be genuinely expressing how fitting and inclusive the school was for especially conflict-affected children, she equally revealed teachers' unconscious or conscious allegiance to societal perspectives on camp-life. It felt like, alleged 'camp-mentality' in children was counter-reinforced by 'camp-mentality' from practitioners whose efforts to help pupils 'escape' the camp portrayed societal contempt for camp-people. In this case, teachers and the society seemed to stand on the 'righteous end' whilst camp-life automatically suggested being of non-equal value, thus disregarding children's heritage. And despite the camp providing safety from the PEV experiences, pupils could resent their supposed 'condemned society' desiring to cross over to the

imagined better and perhaps more respectable side, i.e. the school-societal side. Whether pupils were experiencing broader social integration or being socialised in unfamiliar norms alongside cultural intimidation required leaders' attention. Within such circumstances, how to negotiate social and moral distortions resulting from PEV experiences towards more inclusive practices remained complex.

### 5.2.3 Social and Moral Distortions

All practitioners expressed their awareness of the distress underlying pupils' lives recognising that the school resulted from a rapid response to PEV-related adversity (UNESS-Kenya, 2010-2011). Teachers noted that challenges in social and moral development were complex and involved a continuous evaluation and reflection on sensitive emotional experiences encountered, and then preparing pupils for positive futures. For instance, Gean and Mambo mentioned that pupils witnessed or experienced situations where adults were burning houses, killing others or looting, and that pupils expressed this bitterness in their relationships with peers especially soon after joining this school. Pupils past experiences were said to produce fear, distance and bitterness towards others, making school relationships challenging. Explaining the undesired impact of violence on the responsibility of school leadership towards pupils' moral development, Stella (S/T) said:

*In schools, the deputy and the headteacher are supposed to be very strict. So if a child is told they will be taken to them, so to the child it's like 'you are going to be killed ...' because some of them have undergone such punishments or experiences ... you see they might think 'school is not better than home,' and they will run away.*

It is possible to assume that, such suppositions by pupils challenged the legitimacy of administrators in facilitating moral or emotional healing. Moreover, if previous betrayal was instigated by known adult neighbours (Kamungi, 2013: UNDP, 2011), then how could 'just-recently known neighbours' [teachers] justify their emotional or moral sincerity towards pupils? Jess, Roda and Gean indicated that they considered themselves school leaders because they were adult-figures in this community. This implied having the moral authority of relaying the community's moral scripts to the young people as expected of adults in African societies (Ngara, 2007:8) despite

adults' betrayal of children during PEV-related atrocities. As the senior teacher implied, as immediate images of societal leadership, school leaders' moral guidance to the young people was masked by effects of political leadership. Consequently, both teachers and pupils could be perceived as caught-up in a dualism. First, pupils became victims of cruelty from adults and dependants on adults for either reconstruction or re-victimisation. For practitioners, whether adult-guardians of morality could plan atrocities on one hand and comfort the victims on the other, seemed a problematic issue to resolve.

Beyond moral legitimacy, social and moral development was complicated by linguistic differences. Teacher Gean (a victim of displacement) and the camp resident I encountered during my visit to the camp noted that political leaders used ordinary tribal locals to commit atrocities against those who spoke a different language. This resonates with KPTJ (2010) and UNDP (2011) reports on PEV. So, children not only suffered social rejection from their adult neighbours but also from their peers because of tribal differences. Perhaps this provided children informal lessons on how to be hated and how to hate others along tribal grounds. According to teachers, most children in this school shared tribal backgrounds, thus, had opportunities to maximise their linguistic inheritance without necessarily feeling different. Yet the headteacher explained that the school was located in a peri-urban setting attracting a minority (30%) who, according to Tina, did not necessarily share vernacular languages. Since not speaking the language of your neighbour was a factor for post-election violence, language difference was a sensitive issue needing respect for linguistic heritage whilst reducing linguistic-related fears. The deputy explained that IDPs considered this school as theirs and were reluctant towards different 'others' being here. Citing the case of teacher Jo, he explained how parents initially rejected her and people from her tribe because they allegedly committed atrocities against them. The implication was that, school leaderships' moral authority to advance consideration of other tribes especially those associated with perpetrators could be challenged, and that building values for language variations was dilemmatic.

Moreover, demonstrating moral values in practitioners' own sense of understanding it and with consideration of the IDP camp dynamics, was seemingly challenging because children had, and were still experiencing social-moral complexities.

*For sure, these children experienced a lot of problems [during the PEV] and to add onto that, they came into the camp. The camp did not solve their problems, actually it's another rough place because they met different cultures, different characters, new people, altogether. So some children here encountered nasty things, from immorality to drugs all those things ... These things affected these children so much. (Martha)*

Indeed, teachers noted that pupils' entrapment in violence occasionally surfaced in emotional outbursts indicating the complex emotional burdens they carried to school.

*For example one child in [] class, one day she took a stone, held it like this [demonstrating], she hit another one on the head, the injury incurred by the boy ... [shaking his head]. She appeared very bitter, very bitter. Maybe because of what she saw during the violence...And there was blood shedding here every day, children used to be rushed to hospital one after the other, every day, because of the things they encountered from each other, to them they never knew it was bad to hit another, they never knew that to bite somebody was wrong, and the words they used were terrible. (Mambo)*

This quote indicates re-victimisation of pupils through peer violence. To manage such challenging behavioural difficulties, the issue of the 'cane' was raised. The administrators reasoned that children dreaded the cane due to PEV stigma. Conversely, Jess noted that abandoning the cane for alternative approaches had increased pupils' chances for deliberate misbehaviour, especially because canning happened in other schools. This means, instilling appropriate behaviour was hampered by conformity to traditional practices in other schools or homes. Thus, social-emotional and moral development was pegged on history, local practices, each child's day-to-day experiences, and future desires. The challenge was on how school relations could be grounded on shared rules to promote responsible behaviour for adults as well as the young people. And if camp-life was allegedly violence-prone, and re-exposed children to violence, the challenge for school leadership was on how

to support pupils to develop socially and morally in ways that de-militarised their minds (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000:28) through learning ventures in school and beyond.

### 5.2.3 Mediating New Learning Cultures

According to the headteacher and teachers, there were concerns about adhering to academic target requirements which involved doing externally sourced tests for all children. Teachers also noted that many children came direct from home to standard one, rather than from nursery, especially before the introduction of ECDE in the school. Initially, pupils' attainments in literacy and numeracy were reportedly very low. Similarly, due to receiving street-children now and then (homeless children who lived in the streets of local towns, homed in the school's partner orphanage), teachers felt that some pupils required substantial attention before settling down and catching-up with others. The headteacher also mentioned that when teachers did individual lesson-planning, challenges in attending to the multi-layered learning needs reported in classrooms.

According to the senior teacher and headteacher, traditional assumptions in this context were that all children in regular schools like this one were a homogenous group; adequately fitting into the curriculum of their grade, adaptable to existing learning paces and all working at a similar level because they were expected to take the same examinations. This was regardless of the possibility that children in this school joined school at various points [beginning, middle or end of a year] due to their destabilised lives, or had delayed educational development following experiences of violence, or as teacher Roda, insisted, some learned at different paces. In terms of allocating grade-levels to the incoming pupils, the headteacher termed the exercise "tricky" because the traditional norm required matching pupils' academic ability (not age) with grade-allocation. The varied levels of academic ability were mainly felt during common exams that were set at Zonal/District levels, to which the school had no control over. This meant either finding ways of making children 'fit into the curriculum' and match other schools or devising school-based interventions against given guidelines.

This was complex and teachers expressed their disappointment, for instance, during the end of year staff meeting which I attended. A Standard One case was mentioned. Homogeneity in exams across the Zone which comprised 42 schools meant that the grade one pupils [third term, 2013, see appendix 5.3] did a Zonal test which was inconsistent with the syllabus. This meant that the test-items did not correspond to the content in the grade-one syllabus which the teachers had followed. Although these teachers had noted the anomaly and suggested a different option, compliance with Zonal demands required doing the test first, then resolving complaints later. The class mean-score plummeted, making teachers feel disheartened. Echoing the importance of mean-scores in the Zonal tables of comparison, grade-one teachers expressed their disappointment that pupils were expected to pass unfair tests then compared with other class-entries in the table. Whilst practitioners' support networks indicated their sense of collaboration in learning (see chapter six), this situation palpably encouraged a spirit of competition and comparison; increasing the likelihood that learning in classrooms would be examination-oriented to compete in Zonal tables. Moreover, Roda said that the fast-paced curriculum in relatively highly populated classrooms (40 pupils) meant teachers' time had to be split across all learners so there was less time for slow-paced pupils.

Additionally, the headteacher noted how policy demands constrained their attention to non-examinable learning especially for those children who had other potentials, besides pupils' need for diverse learning experiences to mitigate experiences of violence. This deficit produced misunderstanding between sponsors and school leadership.

*Our sponsors, their cultures are different from those of the children they are sponsoring ... trying to convince them why we are subjecting children to exams as early as class one and ECDE ... is challenging.*  
(Headteacher)

Stella (S/T) elaborated the situation:

*Sometimes there is so much expectation and the government expects you to perform, the sponsor doesn't understand some of these challenges ...*



*there is tension from the sponsor, maybe he wants to give bonuses [to employees], and these children are getting low marks, like if they had not passed interviews when joining school, and haven't learned much they may not get good marks compared to others [who have been in school]. You see, the sponsor picks children from the street, so they haven't yet managed to perform well and many did not go to nurseries.*

The teachers expressed feeling the pressure on them especially when the NGO administrator visited the school to gather information or to monitor different aspects of pupils' learning. At times, sponsors' agendas conflicted with local priorities.

*One challenge is that sometimes the development aspirations of the sponsors may be focused on a certain area that we may feel is not as much of a priority. For instance, our national system is highly exam oriented which our sponsors sometimes feel uncomfortable with ... one challenge is trying to make them understand that this is a system that, as a school, or even sponsors, we may not have the capacity to challenge though we want to. (Headteacher)*

The implication was that, beyond meeting needs based on their first-hand experiences with conflict-affected pupils, and, needs prescribed by the MOE, expectations on school leadership from sponsors (International NGO) often conflicted with the school working patterns as determined by the Kenya MOE policy. From the preceding findings, complying with policy and structural pressure became a day-to-day challenge for school leadership. Whereas teachers attempted to protect pupils against unfair practices, the needs of the MOE evidently encouraged grounds for less collaboration. There emerged a challenge of developing learning cultures that desensitised competition for collaboration, and that allowed diversification of learning whilst complying with stakeholders' demands. As Smith (2010:5) rightly argues, control over education systems by state or non-state actors in conflict-affected situations can pose real dangers of indoctrination of children, or restrictions to fundamental choices for local communities. As noted in chapter 2, competition-oriented school environments favour government-oriented narrow learning outcomes, reproducing social differences with possibility for more conflicts in such societies (Davies, 2010). As chapter 6 will show, combating these concerns required

practitioners' solidarity and advocacy grounded on their understandings of the social-moral situation.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

In chapter 5, I have shown that the experiences the young people brought into or experienced during their inclusion in education were complex and overlapping in many respects. Their experiences were nested on historical encounters, immediate hardships, aspired futures alongside demands of the local, national and global contexts. Household disruptions constrained home-school relationships, while the policy environment introduced stakeholders and societal expectations; often producing more challenges in how children's learning and development were attended to. This clearly revealed that school leaders were steering inclusive education in conflict-pervaded circumstances; negotiating dilemmatic relationships, fostering social development and, negotiating new learning cultures within rigid policy climates. Drawing from these findings on pupils' perceptions of their needs and subsequent challenges, next, chapter 6 discusses how school leadership was advanced in reconstructing three areas that emerged as fundamental in thinking about the role of school leadership in this post-conflict environment, that is, reconstruction of: leadership structures; school relationships, and new learning cultures.

## **CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS**

### **Leadership: Nature of Practice and Roles for School**

### **Leadership in Meeting Learning and Development Needs of Conflict-Affected Young People**

#### **6.0 Introduction**

In chapter 5, I identified how the interaction between different elements of the school context resulted in children experiencing complex learning and development needs at school. For example, household disruptions constrained access and participation in education, while social, emotional and moral disorientation had implications on their trust and integration in the new school community. The school environment was characterised by conflicts and contradictions related to structures, relationships and policies, which implied a need for interventions if schooling was to make sense for the young people.

The purpose of chapter 6 is to analyse findings on how school leadership practice was advanced and roles negotiated amongst practitioners, in order to meet learning and development needs of conflict-affected pupils in the case study. The chapter answers RQ3: “How was school leadership practice taken forward in order to foster inclusive cultures and meet the learning and development needs of children in the post-conflict school?”

Firstly, after introducing these findings, I examine how practitioners made sense of the concepts of ‘leadership’, ‘administration’ and ‘management.’ I reveal their discrete and overlapping meanings and how these meanings shaped practitioners’ day-to-day leadership practices (Bolden and Kirk, 2009; Torrance, 2012). Secondly, as mentioned in chapter 3, I provide a brief recap of the work of Davies (2004) whose ideas on education and post-conflict reconstruction I have found useful in loosely structuring the roles for school leadership in this chapter. Although her work is not directly focused on school leadership, her examination of post-conflict settings provided me with insights and parallels in making-sense of the Kenyan case. Thirdly,

I organise my findings around Davies' ideas on reconstruction of a) governance [leadership] b) relationships and c) learning cultures; having found these aspects particularly significant in underpinning the particularities of my case (Stake, 2003). In chapter 6 I demonstrate that, although attempts by administrators at reconstructing each of these three areas resulted in modification of school structures and practices in ways that facilitated meeting different perceived needs, the challenges emanating from immediate, national and global expectations had to be negotiated pragmatically. For instance, while the headteacher felt that teachers could lead because they were well versed with day-to-day realities of their pupils' home/school experiences, overall accountability remained locked in hierarchical structures (Gunter, 2005), and teacher leaderships could only operate within controlled autonomy. By diagnosing the state of local affairs (Spillane and Coldren, 2011) such as structural limitations (curriculum, exams, NGO-government demands) and disrupted livelihoods, the headteacher knew he could not reach out to all needs singly. Thus, some teacher autonomy for teacher agency was pragmatic, creating possibilities for teacher innovations in favour of inclusivity agendas. Conversely, teachers' own socialisation and dispositions shaped their participation and responses to children's needs significantly. For example, teacher relational influences with pupils meant that pupils were somewhat dependent on teachers for healing or adjustment, while reconstruction of new learning cultures meant 'disrupting' teachers' routines in teaching/learning. Overall, reconstruction in all fundamental aspects of schooling had considerable implications for leadership practice.

Indeed, for leadership, it seemed that combating the complex challenges in this work context required deliberate but vigilant efforts at *"addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all learners ... and reducing exclusion within and from education"* through changes and modifications in approaches, structures and strategies (UNESCO, 2009:9-10). Before demonstrating how these modifications unfolded, I build an understanding of how the concept of 'leadership' and its associated terms of 'management' and 'administration' were constructed and operationalised.

These findings are based on a thematic analysis of data from interviews with the headteacher, deputy, senior teacher and teachers, field observations, texts-on-walls and my interpretation of these sources alongside contextual understanding and awareness of literature.

### **6.1 Understandings of ‘Leadership’, ‘Management’ and ‘Administration’ in This School**

The headteacher, deputy, senior teacher and all teachers concurred that school administration consisted of those individuals who provided overall direction for the school and school leadership. The headteacher clarified that administrative leadership “*comprised the office of the deputy, office of the headteacher and that of the senior teacher*” whose functions included:

- Providing overall leadership of the school.
- Linking the school with other stakeholders (NGO, Government, and parents/community).
- Supporting and supervising the implementation of Ministry of Education policies.
- Supervising the activities of the NGO.
- Quality assurance at school.
- Supporting and guiding the work of teachers.

Administrators’ posts were hierarchical with responsibilities mandated by the MOE. These were stipulated within charted wall-displays in the staffroom suggesting scripted job characteristics (Appendix 6.0). Although the wall-display indicated class teachers at the bottom of the hierarchy, teachers did not generally perceive themselves as administrators.

The headteacher emphasised that school leadership, as opposed to school administration, was exercised by the headteacher and all other teachers in school, including pupils, albeit within hierarchical structures; “*The rest of the school*

*leadership trickles down to the class teachers all the way up to the prefect systems in the school". (Headteacher)*

For Mambo (Deputy), the terms ‘administration’, ‘headteacher’ and ‘leadership’ initially presented almost as synonymous. When asked about how school leadership responded to the needs of pupils in this post-conflict situation he answered: *“the administration has done a lot ...”* He then explained how the headteacher influenced sponsor priorities before adding that, *“for example, we request them as the administration to buy us books or other things we see as priorities”*. The implication was that there was no clear-cut distinction between headteacher’s leadership, deputy’s leadership and what he called ‘administration’. Yet, by influencing sponsor priorities, leadership practice was linked to an ‘influence process’ intended to meet pupils’ needs. Further, the deputy’s personal *“feel”* about leadership in this school indicated the headteacher was the obvious leader, however, one whose interpersonal relationships shaped freedom of action for all teachers:

*I feel that leadership in our school is one of the best because our head teacher is one person who gives people freedom to do their things, the right things. He is not a person who keeps following you to do things as long as you know why you are here and you know what you are supposed to do, he gives you freedom to act in the right way. (Mambo)*

Mr Mambo seemed to suggest that, the headteacher’s legitimisation of actions not only equated to good school leadership but also enabled practitioners some freedom to ‘do the right things’ and ‘act in the right ways.’ This implied existence of ‘vertical’ mutual trust that encouraged teachers to innovate strategies on the basis of freedom of action and perhaps *“making the most of their motivations, commitments and capacities”* (Leithwood *et al.*, 2003:7). In the second interview [conducted in his classroom] Mambo’s perception of leadership was constructed along a moral strand with notions of African leadership where leadership practice is shared by community members (Masango, 2002:710; Msila, 2014). For those working closely with children, he attributed a profound value-based tone to leadership, embedding passion for envisioning immediate and long-term change beyond current school circumstances:

*Leadership is the long term feelings about a place, not so much on headteacher, or class teacher and the like, but whoever comes into my class, be it a teacher or student, what a person feels of himself and the mission he has for this place, to see some positive change in the place, the leadership, you know. We talk of self-control, is a quality of a leader, this is something inward, you see what to do here and you tell yourself to do it, you don't wait to be told, to bring about some positive change. (Mambo)*

Here, leadership was explicitly linked to 'change' and required inward commitment, driven by passion for positive change. However for him, the 'knot' between leadership and management seemed difficult to untangle especially where whole-school networking was involved:

*Sometimes these two come together, sometimes they are different, we may talk of management, sometimes we have decisions which need to be made, they [teachers] may come up with those [decisions], they consult the head, then they can sit together, talk about it, we can even talk as a staff, so we take these teachers to be leaders. (Mambo, second interview)*

This quotation illustrates the deputy attempting to explain how teachers 'managed' as well as 'led.' Perhaps he was implying that, when teachers encountered obstacles related to management during their working situations, their interaction with the administrators could lead to a change in perspectives or practices even at school level. In other words, by inviting teachers to make those [management-related] decisions, the bottom-up exchanges enhanced possibilities for new ways of working. While participating in decision-making processes endorsed teachers' incorporation into the leadership loop (Katzenmeyer and Moller, 2001), the explanation indicated how intertwined these terms became in practice. Overall, the headteacher and deputy described teachers' practices as managing and leading but not administration:

*The class teacher offers leadership and management at classroom level, she or he issues books and materials, keeps the class register, and have control and authority over what happens in their classes in terms of interacting with children. (Headteacher)*

From all the teachers interviewed, the term administration was mainly reserved for the headteacher, deputy and senior teacher, but whether it was highly structured amongst the three was unclear from the data. However, leadership, for teachers, was practised by every teacher - mainly through role-modelling shared values.

All practitioners perceived management as formal and structured (Yukl, 2004). At the highest level in this school, management was linked to the School Management Committee (SMC), now termed Board of Management, in the New Kenya Constitution, 2010 (Nyanjom, 2011). The headteacher explained that the SMC comprised parents' representatives for each grade, two County Education Office representatives, sponsor representatives and the school's headteacher, as secretary to the committee. Also, all teachers concurred that every teacher in their school led and managed in classroom matters or during school level assigned routines, e.g. teacher on duty. Those who headed educational specialist roles like 'the language policy' or educational clubs like 'drama/music or games/sports' were ascribed a leadership status by colleagues in relation to their influence on what members in these groups did, e.g. Martha said that these leaders designed or planned activities, while Jo, Roda, Jess and Gean saw them offering guidance and role modelling desired practices for colleagues and pupils. Elsewhere, Roda attempted differentiating *teaching* and *leading*:

*When I am teaching the curriculum, I see myself as teacher, when motivating them in class I see myself as a leader, and sometimes I give them real-life experiences, I tell them who I used to be and who I am now ... because some of them might have low attitude about themselves, so you motivate them ... (Roda)*

From this discussion, the practice of leadership generally constituted elements of administration, management, teaching and role-modelling. Typically, such engagements tended to overlap and were accomplished concurrently; teachers constructing leadership around or combining it with the associate terms. In their interviews, 'administration' or 'office' referred to the headteacher, deputy and senior teacher.



Following this analysis, I briefly recap ideas from Davies (2004) on education and post-conflict reconstruction (see 3.2.1), before adapting them loosely (see meaning of ‘loosely’ below) to arrange roles for school leadership in post-conflict reconstruction as emerging from my case study.

## **6.2 Education and Post-Conflict Reconstruction**

Davies (2004) situates reconstruction of governance mainly at national levels based on three possible reactions: government for national unity based on democratic practices; futile struggles between opposing groups; or, totalitarianism with dictatorship (p.177). At micro-levels, e.g. schools, school leadership is responsible for governance (MOE, 2012b) and is inevitably linked to this role during post-conflict school-life (Taro, 2012). Davies argues that leaders can mediate democratic structures that allow participatory processes where school communities blend local heritage in their response to local conditions, rather than uncritically copying externally-mandated structures. Then, reconstruction of relationships would involve reconciliation for healing and moving on, building interdependence or recognition of the benefits of cooperation. This requires individuals to behave in particular ways that lead people out of a culture of violence into co-existence. Restoring learning cultures results from the possibility that schooling patterns were disrupted, some teachers and pupils forming habits of absenteeism or displacement-related demotivation. All these ‘reconstructions’ necessitate fostering integration and respect through accessible, all-inclusive language, because language issues often breed conflict, e.g., Dattoo and Johnson (2013) found that fundamentalist tribal stances and broken inter-tribal relationships were overwhelming principals in Kenyan schools.

By adopting Davies’ ideas ‘loosely’ I mean, although three of Davies’ five titled “*areas of education for reconstruction*” (p.169-182) provided me with useful insights and labels to make sense of my data, not all aspects of each area corresponded with my data. For example, Davies talks of “*restoring a culture of learning*” while evidence in my study went beyond restoration to de/construction of learning cultures. While restoration implied going back to some normalcy, there were

clear attempts at interrupting some learning/teaching normalcy. Also, a fifth dimension, “*reconstructing curriculum and textbooks*” was beyond the remit of my participants, however, there were attempts at improving learning approaches to existing curriculum, making this area move into what I present under ‘learning cultures’. Whilst “*reconstruction of governance*” occurs mainly at national levels, I use those elements that relate to school leadership in my case, for example in relation to fostering open school systems with transparent connections where educators and learners can collectively and actively combat injustice and unfairness.

Next, I demonstrate how roles for school leaders were negotiated in my Kenyan case study through reconstruction of leadership structures, relationships and, learning cultures, in turn.

### **6.3 Reconstructing Leadership Structures [Governance]**

#### **6.3.1 Grounding School Leadership Practice**

In mediating participatory processes and seizing local heritage amongst teachers (Davies 2004), my data reveals that leadership structures and processes were modified in ways that encouraged joint sense-making, collaboration and community-consciousness. This inspired teachers to work interdependently; influencing their individual or group actions, or, mediating preferred behaviour in relation to pupils’ and community concerns. Three broad modes of working allowed collective sense-making:

- i) joint staff decision-making;
- ii) small interactive groups;
- iii) shared leadership in whole-school gatherings.

Overall, these avenues were bases through which top-bottom-top and lateral leadership influences occurred (Pearce, Conger and Locke, 2007), allowing wider participation, dialogue and drawing teachers’ commitment in various capacities. These modes of working facilitated four categories of leadership:

- 1) Office-referenced individual autonomy.
- 2) Small collaborating groups.
- 3) Whole-school networks.
- 4) Team-building initiative.

Each of these approaches will be discussed below. First, it was clear that shared modes of decision-making at school level (e.g. staff meetings) provided teachers with insights on how to enact what emerged as ‘office-referenced autonomy’ and group collaborations in ways that addressed pupils’ concerns along what Gunter (2005) perceives as maintaining consistency with broader school aspirations. Stella (S/T) found consensus-building enabling teachers to share their day-to-day concerns as well as identify the best ways to support the vulnerable pupils, with fairness. Shared decision-making also increased interdependencies amongst practitioners; group meanings being co-constructed and reinforced through shared understandings of practice. For instance, *core values* (appendix 5.4) was a scripted referential (Guba, 1981:85) that different teachers identified as significant in tackling value-based challenges, fostering relational leadership and strengthening interconnectedness in working practices. This sort of coordination echoes what Gunter (2005) termed ‘licencing’ leadership with elements of what Leithwood *et al.* (2009:226) call ‘planned alignment’, where the performance of leadership can be consciously aligned across the sources of leadership following planned thought by organisational members. Indeed, staff dialogues during meetings became bases for decision-making where trust in others’ leadership capacity and commitment to shared goals was reinforced (*ibid*).

Importantly, who took the lead in responding to different needs was largely determined by a) position, b) circumstances, c) experience, d) knowledge/interest and e) interpersonal working relationships amongst colleagues, and fundamentally, with children. For administrators, this was aimed at nurturing collective sensitivity to the needs of the school community:

*The school administration is not private to all circumstances happening in this school, or in classes. Sometimes when planning, an area may be overlooked or may be as a result of new developments from home or the relationships between children and their parents or between parents and teachers ... A keen teacher identifies a gap that needs to be addressed ... brings the idea to the school administration and the administration supports a teacher in bringing a desirable situation that is dictated by the situation on the ground. (Headteacher)*

The headteacher maintained that a collective approach was necessary because:

- The school had very sensitive pupils who required constant follow-up in terms of discipline, cleanliness, encouragement and parents' connection.
- He was always in and out of school for various reasons and teachers needed to know how to go on together with or without him.
- Teachers needed to feel they were leaders in their own capacities and could make sound decisions because they had been trained to handle pupils and had varied experiences.
- Interactive working enhanced the school's overall retention rates.

This interdependence echoed facets of Crowther's (2008:3) teacher leadership framework, e.g. working with administrators to find solutions to issues affecting pupils and their communities.

Having shown why and how shared modes of decision-making operated, I now look at how shared decision-making influenced each category of leadership.

### 6.3.2 Office-Referenced Individual Autonomy

Although administrators (headteacher, deputy and senior teachers) took the central role in the manner in which needs and concerns were attended to, when teachers were allowed what presented as 'office-referenced autonomy', they were licenced and given opportunities to work in ways that enabled some degree of discretion in making responsible decisions and actions in responding to concerns, as long as organisational goals were pursued or met (Gunter, 2005). Importantly, parameters were set for teachers' autonomy in executing leadership decisions. Thus, the

headteacher's office was the locus of control, with frequent consultations or liaison. Mambo (deputy) clarified that their headteacher allowed teachers the freedom to do things *"as long as they remain within the limits"*.

For Mambo, *"freedom to act in the right ways"* was within the rationale that teachers understood the purposes of schooling, and their individual limits of operation. This *understanding*, however, emanated from shared sense-making amongst staff where mediation of group values occurred (Spillane and Coldren, 2011). This happened prior to, or after emergence of exclusion/inclusion incidences; practitioners generating templates for negotiating 'relative autonomy' in classrooms or in group interactions, ensuring consistency, relevance, promptness and discretion for especially sensitive issues.

Office referenced individual autonomy utilised teachers' interpersonal relationships with pupils, teacher's knowledge and experiences. The headteacher asserted, *"these teachers know the children better than me, so I support the teacher to provide the help that is needed by the child"*, suggesting recognition and support for teachers' input. According to the headteacher, teacher autonomy mainly targeted reducing possibilities for individual pupils' exclusions or re-marginalisation in/from classrooms or school, through close monitoring of pupils on a day-to-day basis. The headteacher and deputy argued that such informal *"leaderships"* were valuable *"extensions"* (headteacher) or *"back-up"* (deputy) for formal leadership. For instance, by virtue of being professional teachers, the headteacher saw teachers as leaders with the potential to advocate and demonstrate inclusive values:

*The teachers have that professional responsibility of attending to all children irrespective of their [pupils'] backgrounds and that is what I would see as their main leadership role in the sense that it's about embracing all children. (Headteacher)*

Administrators were also conscious that some responses required some degree of confidentiality. So, although parent linkage was mainly a function of school administration, it was felt that some pupils/parents felt more comfortable to work

with certain teachers rather than the office. In that case, teachers still worked within their parameters but had discretion on which interventions to use to support pupils:

*In case there is a child who has a problem in class, teachers should not wait for the headteacher to come and handle that, they are free to do that as long as they remain within the limits. He or she is mandated to call a parent and talk about a child, and actually if there is anything that is confidential it's just kept confidential at that level, and this has helped us to work so well. (Mambo, second interview)*

For instance, Jo's pupil [Kim] required keen attention/healing due to severe emotional difficulties after PEV. Jo explained how she self-directed the healing initiative, liaising with Kim's caregiver. Although Jo noted that it was important to inform the administrators about her experiences, she emphasised how she self-directed the healing process with some understanding that, *"the office comes in when I need them"* (Jo). According to Jo, the close working relationship between her and Kim's care-giver influenced Kim's subsequent emotional and academic development saying, *"now the boy is improving"*.

However, where cases were more complex or what they termed 'going beyond boundaries', Jess, Martha and Roda explained that teachers kept to their decision-making confines, soliciting direct support from administration. Interestingly, they often consulted with colleagues beforehand:

*Some children go beyond, beyond the boundaries. So what we usually do, we go to the head teacher, sit with him, talk and then we see or get a way forward. For instance a child misbehaves and you now know, being that you are not supposed to use corporal punishment, we use different ways, we talk to a child, you also call your colleagues, and if it doesn't work, you go to the higher authority for more advice or consultation. (Jess)*

Overall, the influence that teacher leadership had on pupils' learning and development was more confined to classroom practices based upon relationships with children and problem-solving with colleagues, and related to pedagogical processes in day-to-day realities (Gunter, 2005). However, how teachers utilised such interpersonal relationships derived from the climate set by the overall school

leadership, enabling teachers to initiate interventions as deemed beneficial to the overall school goals. For instance, Martha (a well-referenced informal leader) devised a personal arrangement with her pupils to influence their academic performance and value for education. From her own savings, she bought gifts for any three pupils considered best improved in class performance, each term. She also used the ‘gift’ to invite the parents of those pupils who did well (she often bought Thermos-flasks, requiring careful handling) into school. The parent would then “*come and see the pupil receive this reward*” and parents later carried it home. This not only made pupils feel appreciated, but the parent was also informed about the child’s development whilst cementing relationships between home and school. As Leithwood *et al.* (2006:5-6) argue, leadership serves as a catalyst for unleashing the potential capacities existing in school, influencing classroom learning outcomes indirectly or directly. When leadership establishes “*a shared purpose as a basic stimulant for one’s work*” (*Ibid.*), teachers’ activities can expand their spheres of influence even beyond school walls. This approach to stimulating teachers to go beyond expectations provided indications for transformational leadership. Thus, teachers’ commitment and energy facilitated school change (Katzenmeyer and Moller, 2001:2) in classrooms and beyond (Crowther, 2008).

Whilst office referenced autonomy mainly targeted individual pupil’s development, other collaborative leadership practices provided responses at different levels.

### 6.3.3 Small Collaborating Groups

Collaborative working groups operated in two levels: i) teachers engaging in advice/information seeking behaviours amongst themselves for problem-solving and ii) task-groups that influenced actions taken by its members. Such interactive behaviours extended leadership influence across colleagues whilst encouraging a culture of learning from, and supporting one another in known or spontaneous challenges.

### *Advice-seeking behaviour*

Advice generated through information-seeking behaviours amongst teachers in dyads or triads (Spillane and Coldren, 2011) facilitated learning more about inclusive practices. This knowledge exchange amongst teachers grounded their possible actions on shared realities accumulated from classroom or school-level experiences. Advice-seeking behaviours encouraged mutuality and reciprocity providing more accessible, flexible, prompt and relevant avenues for inquiry with room for self-expression when frustrated or excited about inclusion-related issues. In this school, teachers' advice-seeking behaviour seemed to thrive because:

- The majority of teachers were in lower primary school, i.e. teaching younger pupils in a young school.
- Structurally and environmentally, the lower primary section was behind the main upper primary classroom block, creating a perceived division between the two levels and increasing teachers' dependency on one another instead of going to the 'office'.

Consequently, seeking advice from colleagues, rather than the office was much easier. Martha saw this practice being enhanced through recognition of each other's ability or interests, saying, *"once you are recognised, you do your work with passion."* Jo added that, *"we mainly work as a cluster, the headteacher only comes in when I need him"*. Martha explained:

*I may contact the head teacher who would tell me what to do next ... but some of the problems that you have, you do not need to go to the office. Sometimes, we solve the problems ourselves. There are better ways of solving problems before reaching at a higher level, you can solve it as 'lowers' your colleague can show you how to do something then you do it.*  
(Martha)

According to my observations, Martha was well-referenced and well-connected between lower and upper primary teachers and office. According to the deputy she was *"a very good teacher"* whose *"class performs well."* She also manifested strong beliefs about children's wellbeing in school and openly challenged any



contradictions to shared values. These attributes appeared to account for her informal influence amongst lower primary colleagues, many citing her support and influence. These attributes echo aspects of Crowther's (2008) framework of teacher leadership.

Moreover, there was mediated understanding about pupils' concerns through exchanging personal experiences, difficulties and/or triumphs. For instance, some teachers offered bridges between pupils' history and current experiences. Although a school counsellor, Roda required Jo's experience when undertaking particular concerns in her class. She explained how she often visited Jo instead of the office to get some history on particularly challenging pupils, having taken over Jo's class in standard four. After consultations, she devised her own strategies based on what she had learnt:

*In order to help these children remain in school, we discuss matters because I came to this school beginning of this year [2013], I wasn't with them in lower section so before I take action on some children, I go back to the lower teacher who used to handle the child, we talk, she supports me and sometimes she might say, I gave up on that, then I say, I will not give up. So I come back after consultations, now I know I am handling such and such a case. (Roda)*

#### *Task-groups*

Small collaborative task-groups were adopted by teachers to work together to accomplish particular higher level leadership agendas. Such collaboration enabled multiple voices to reflect on the bigger realities of school life, becoming instrumental in addressing broader school-oriented concerns. Task-groups allowed teachers to utilize their expertise whilst learning from each other through exchanging ideas. Yet, these exchanges eventually constituted a tighter basis for direction in subsequent actions (Gunter, 2005) compared to the more flexible *advice-seeking* support. Thus, group-consensus required higher levels of mutual responsibility to realise immediate goals of the working-group and towards the broader goals of the school community. Nevertheless, their functioning was also semi-autonomous; aligning to the higher purposes of the group's function and working within given administrative parameters.

The drama/poetry team represented one such group. Although a group-appointed leader guided the group's activities working with and through others towards the envisioned aims, the deputy oversaw their activities. According to the teachers, drama, poetry and music were essential extra-curriculum subjects in this school, thus different teachers' expertise and experiences in these areas were utilised to pursue three significant inclusion-oriented purposes:

- Exposing IDP camp-based pupils to the outside world (social integration).
- Developing pupils' talents (holistic learning).
- Facilitating social learning (strengthening pupils' relations and confidence in communication).

I attended the drama group preparation meeting where all five participating teachers, representing different areas of expertise, converged. Martha was the group's informal leader, while Mambo (deputy) was administratively accountable. Mambo took poetry in upper primary; Judy from ECDE was good at singing games with young children; Martha was doing poems with lower primary; Ben and Jill were in upper primary doing a dramatized contemporary dance. Members exchanged opinions about the forthcoming activities, agreeing on: key themes; the number of attendees and the requirements of each performance; and festivals' dates. Each would prepare a group of children for the festival, and colleagues would offer support where needed. However, resources for attending the events were limited, so only a targeted number of pupils could benefit, excluding others.

Teachers' innovation and creativity was crucial in matching themes with the school aims. Themes advocated for education through peer communication and 'peer-keeping'. Teachers prepared the scripts and children were skilfully trained to communicate in talent-nurturing modes. The performances were acted-out and afterwards used as learning resources for the entire school community during school ceremonies and assemblies (Appendix 5.1). The sessions I attended were also very entertaining.

Despite the benefits of collaborative working groups, absolute allegiance to group norms was not always the case. My catch-up conversation with Mambo after the festivals revealed that, although group purposes were agreed-upon, the deviation of one teacher from these resulted in conflict. Considering the limited funding available, Mr Mambo tasked teacher Ben to negotiate some affordable travel to the festival. However, Martha increased her number of attendees and organised extra travel means without conferring with members. Her actions had cost implications, requiring an extra fee to be paid. The episode indicated a possible clash between formal and informal leadership in terms of resources, accountability statuses and proximity to children's feelings\_ Martha choosing not to exclude any participating pupils. Mambo's reaction revealed the challenges of multi-directional leadership whilst expressing his disapproval of deviants.

As discussed, whole-school networking overlapped in structuring all forms of leadership, however, how leadership in whole-school gatherings nurtured pupils' development and supported inclusive cultures will be explored later in 6.4.

Next, I look at team-building leadership initiative.

#### 6.3.4 The Team-Building Leadership

Beyond group-based leadership arrangements, another slightly different approach to leadership emerged, that of 'team-building leadership' initiative.

The headteacher and deputy described their whole-staff engagement in an inter-school team-building initiative. This project, which involved three schools, concerned the expansion of a local secondary school to accommodate more pupils because of surging enrolments. According to the headteacher, failure to develop initiatives to support the violence-affected young people in education after completion of basic primary education, risked their exclusion from further education. The deputy saw such exclusion as potentially exposing them to counterproductive behaviours, including violence. Considering that the graduates from their primary school were mainly from the IDP camp and were struggling financially, forward-mapping their educational needs potentially averted history repeating itself after

completion of standard eight (in three years' time at the time of research). After the whole staff attended one such team-working session, the following assembly day, I heard the headteacher providing feedback to the children about the event. He explained that many pupils tended to give up primary schooling because they had no hope of joining secondary school. With such initiatives, the headteacher said, "*we give hope to children that there is education after standard eight.*"

In summary, these findings reveal that, although there were attempts at reconstructing leadership structures to increase teachers' participation in leadership practice, the administrative leaders assumed overall accountability. However, through shared decision-making with teachers, they together defined how individual or group leadership initiatives would be enacted, thus manifesting leadership a socially constructed practice (Stahl, 2003). For instance, encouragement of individual autonomy increased teachers' creativity in devising different approaches to meeting pupils' needs, however, established decision-making parameters limited teachers' actions in addressing matters that were more complex. Whilst advice-seeking behaviour amongst triads or dyads allowed 'flexible influence' through interactions or mediated practices, smaller assignment-oriented groups tightened parameters for collective responsibility, requiring greater adherence to group values and administrative parameters. And by perceiving pupils as beneficiaries of immediate and long-term education, practitioners' engagement in team-building initiatives hoped to expand pupils' chances for transition to secondary schools. Thus, office-referenced individual autonomy, interactive task-related groups and team-building leadership arrangements all aimed at meeting diverse needs at different levels, with attention to particularities of context. And where 'whole-school leadership' approach presented, a quest for building relationships alongside social learning was evident as discussed later.

Meanwhile, The Dakar Framework for Education (2000:9) postulates that Education for All should meet the needs of conflict-affected victims in ways that promote mutual understanding, peace and tolerance; helping to prevent violence or further conflict. As argued through literature in chapter 3, in post-conflict contexts, school

leadership encounters roles transcending their conventional practices and these are often daunting. Consequently, beyond modifying leadership structures as demonstrated above, e.g. by activating teacher leadership, the next analysis reveals how school leadership undertook fostering relationships and de/constructing learning cultures, in order to promote inclusiveness.

#### **6.4 Reconstructing Relationships**

Reconstruction of relationships sought healing and moving on, nurturing interdependence or recognition of the benefits of cooperation (Davies, 2004). All the practitioners interviewed perceived access to school as an opportunity, not only for academic-oriented development, but crucially, for emotional healing, social integration and moral reconstruction (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000). Practitioners were especially vigilant against ‘othering.’ They favoured patterns of socialisation that bonded the community rather than those that exaggerated their differences. The headteacher and deputy believed that, how they approached post-conflict reconstruction would either lead to enhancement or weakening of relationships, which had been characterised by social division, mistrust, and peer violence. To foster favourable relationships at all levels \_ teacher-to-teacher, teachers-to-pupils, peer-to-peer, and teachers-to-school community \_ my data indicated that the administrators encouraged teachers to employ proactive relational interventions, built on three modes of interaction:

- Interpersonal relations with pupils for emotional healing and development.
- Role-modelling towards moral reconstruction.
- Intergroup relations for social learning.

There was consistent recognition amongst practitioners that a history of violence and subsequent relocation to the camp accounted for the young people’s distressing experiences. They all linked behavioural difficulties encountered in school to violence-related emotional, moral and social disorientation. These difficulties in turn purportedly increased chances for exclusions, so, administrators had to be cautious.

Thus, the three administrators believed in building of trusting and empathetic relationships, coupled with unlearning violence for both teachers and pupils. I now look at each relational approach.

#### 6.4.1 Interpersonal Relationships for Emotional Healing

The administrators recognised that exposure to the PEV generated complex emotional disorientation for many pupils. Mr. Mambo noted, *“these children have gone through tough things”* suggesting the attention required towards meeting their psycho-emotional needs.

However, societal dynamics and teachers’ individuality contributed to the way emotional development was pursued. To enhance every child’s emotional development, administrators encouraged collective responsibility; in particular, teachers’ interpersonal relations with pupils become the fundamental means to alleviating pupils’ emotional difficulties. Stella (ST) explained how they worked:

*If I know that a child in my class has a difficult background I will tell other teachers so that they understand the child better and give that child the needful support ... If I know that a child has a given problem or something sensitive happened to them, then I need to bring him or her even more closer to me.*

Additionally, the complex social context often necessitated practitioners’ stepping into caregivers’ role to offer emotional support. The headteacher expressed how empathic relationships became the norm in this school; validating empathy as a cultural response to emotional development through formal staff inductions.

*As school administration, we induct all the teachers who come here to understand that this school places extra demands in terms of the way we interact with our children and in terms of the way we are absorbed into our community. In our school, it is unique in the sense that some of our children would be living with people who are not own parents, then these people send them to the teachers who are a little further in terms of kinship ... every teacher here understands these categories of children ... when a child leaves ‘home’ [including those from orphanage] and comes to school, the role of parenting shifts from that of the home parent to that*

*of the professionally appointed parent who we call a teacher ...  
(Headteacher)*

The headteacher expressed how teachers inquired into pupils' lives to find ways of coping and supporting them, alongside these inductions.

*Teachers here are keen enough to find out who stays with each child, and having this understanding gives teachers the psychological preparedness to handle these children because we consider them unique. Well, we know that all children are unique in every school, but those at [] are even more unique because of their IDP background, but we turn this into strength, trying to make them as happy as possible in school.  
(Headteacher)*

In the headteacher's view, 'making them happy' facilitated forgetting traumatising history and embracing a new life that offered hope. However, Miller and Affolter (2002) in chapter 3 argued that since the experiences of violence live on, it is how adults help children to make sense of history, the present and the future that eases the emotional load.

While such 'empathetic' assumptions might have contributed to bridging the social gap created by outcomes of violence, perhaps they also led to blurred home-school responsibilities as discussed in chapter 5. But according to administrators, emotional attachment through school experiences formed part of the rehabilitation process and teacher leadership was necessary for reaching out to all pupils. Stella said,

*We are rehabilitating some of these children here because some had indulged in anti-social behaviour, so that we can help them eventually fit into the larger society.*

For Mr Mambo, rehabilitation sought to address recurrent emotional outbursts which jeopardised peer relations or portrayed school as an extension of the battlefield. As such, administrators ensured that their response to pupils' violence was constructed in ways that perpetuated healing and not revenge. Consequently, administrators reinforced a discipline policy; guiding teachers' actions or behaviours on matters of

behaviour management. Despite severe behavioural difficulties, re-victimisation was often avoided through moderating procedures for behaviour management:

*Some are violent but we do not handle them in similar ways. Like in punishments, we try not to be too hard on them, you see, by being role models, they see arrogance or brutality from you and they take that also. You know in many schools, children are running away because of the kind of punishment they get there ... You see because of the mistreatment they [pupils] underwent during the violence, they may not wish to see a repeat of such mistreatment anymore, so something to do with corporal punishment is not here, that is helping us very much. (Mambo, deputy)*

School administrators also reinforced what they called ‘talk’ to replace corporal punishments at all levels. Stella (ST) emphasised, “*We talk to them, give them guidance and counselling at individual levels, school level and any time we think about it. Any time is guidance time.*” They reported how ‘talk time’ was part of the school culture aiming to guide, to listen, to provide room for self-expression or just make sense of what was happening around pupils’ lives. It appeared that teacher leadership for pupils’ learning and development was clearly located in ‘talks.’

Stella also expressed how important it was for leadership to respect each child’s individuality towards enhancing emotional healing:

*First of all, leaders have to be very understanding of where these children are coming from, so they should take each child individually and understand them as individuals.*

Teachers’ interviews revealed how they responded to administrators influence in this respect. For instance, Roda had a girl club, providing time for girls “*to talk and open up*” and express pressing issues. Gean said, “*when they open up, you have to understand a lot of things*”, whilst Martha added, “*they open up, trusting me we talk, then you can see where to come in, they go through tough things*”. Tina talked about a girl who had matured earlier than others in her class having joined school over-age. She expressed how the girl often “*gets embarrassed*” to share things (about her maturity) with the younger peers, so she shared some encounters with Tina. Perhaps as Katzenmeyer and Moller (2001:7) argue, teaching in this school was advanced as



*“a leadership profession,”* influencing students’ lives through daily interactions with their teachers.

Overall, these examples illustrate that administrators encouraged teachers to employ different modes of talk to meet emotional needs at different levels, thus replacing corporal punishment:

- Whole-class talks before or after lessons. (Gean, Mayo, Mambo, Tina)
- Personalised talks. (Jo and Sinbad; Tina and a mature girl in her class)
- Small-group gender-based talks. (Roda and the male colleagues)
- School level talks. (Assemblies, ceremonies)

Despite the troubled histories, they reported progress on restoring emotional stability at the time of research. Mambo noted, *“they came here traumatised, but we can see them forgetting those things”*. The headteacher attributed this progress to deliberate efforts being made at school to counter historical fears or uncertainties:

*The school has had deliberate efforts in making the children forget their past in terms of where they came from, to be able to enjoy what the school can offer. These help to improve their futures.*

In summary, school leadership perceived emotional healing in this school as requiring empathy, rehabilitation and avoidance of re-victimisation. Although teachers were not necessarily trained counsellors, or, as the deputy said, the inclusion policy was not clear about how to support the inclusion of pupils experiencing post-conflict challenges, teachers considered it their responsibility to bring about emotional reconstruction. Only Roda mentioned attending a course on ‘handling MVC’, whilst the deputy attended a number of seminars on ‘child-friendly schools’. Overall, their experiences suggested that they drew from their own emotional inventories in order to cope, despite some of them being victims of the PEV themselves. In terms of school-based support, the headteacher saw staff inductions as facilitating an awareness of what to expect therein.

#### 6.4.2 Role-Modelling for Moral Development

Firstly, it was clear from the evidence gathered that administrators were keen to establish moral templates at school for pupils' moral re/construction hoping to make the education experience relevant to their moral needs. According to Stella and Mambo, profound experiences of violence had considerably jeopardised moral consciousness, for instance, peers hurting peers or breaking into school-neighbours' property. Two areas were noted to present particular difficulties, i) teachers' more middle-class norms and pupils' IDP camp-related norms (struggling livelihoods) suggested different social expectations in school, and ii) awareness that adults were the key perpetrators of PEV, requiring school administrators to reverse the negative image of adults' irresponsibility. The headteacher's assumption was that all teachers had a "*natural contract*" to provide moral guidance as enshrined in the national goals of education [appendix 5.3] and in *school core values*. While these tools did not necessarily change pupils' individual moral stances, they shaped directions for group interactions:

*We have core values here. Actually core values and these other ones [school mission, motto, school philosophy] drive the relationships between children in this school, between teachers and pupils, teachers and teachers, as well as teachers and non-teaching staff. (Headteacher)*

Secondly, although practitioners in chapter 5 indicated a tension between camp values and school values, their progressive investment in understanding pupils' historical and day-to-day experiences meant that children started to bring into the classroom the realities of their IDP camp-life. This aimed to engage them in a moral dialogue towards subsequent formation of shared school values. In classroom spaces, although stereotypical assumptions sometimes surfaced, there were also possibilities for integration of different social realities in classroom learning. Teachers' dispositions were key determinants in integration, accommodation, or silencing of different realities. Stella argued:

*Inclusivity in about being a teacher in itself, you want them to be something in future ... so like in Kiswahili topics, the children speak about the events in the camp ... we talked about fighting and*

*drunkenness, ... so we said we cannot change the people there but we can change ourselves.*

The headteacher emphasised the role of teachers in moral development saying:

*First and foremost, over and above the issue of curriculum implementation, the teachers are required to be role models for the children, and therefore over and above teaching them ABCD, or 123, the children learn from teachers issues that have to do with their social lives, and teachers also offer these children such leadership even beyond the school sphere. (Headteacher)*

The teachers agreed with the headteacher that moral development required lived exemplification by all practitioners. Although their words sometimes contradicted their actions (see 5.2.2), they also made effort to match their words and deeds through altruism:

*We have those teachers who are very kind to the pupils, and they stay with children even like during their lunch hour. They help in serving in different ways, and even handling things in the whole compound, maybe as teachers on duty, they come to school very early, they see the children as they take porridge in the morning. (Gean)*

At another level, considering that ethnic languages were linked to PEV, administrators perceived their role as that of role-modelling and mediating appropriate language use to avert moral dilemmas especially, marginalisation of the few pupils whose language was associated with perpetrators.

*If I am a leader in language policy for example, then I ask them to speak a certain language, like English or Kiswahili at school, I should lead in doing that, and then they can see the importance of everybody using a language that is common to everybody, not using my vernacular, and asking them to avoid their vernacular, this won't help. (Stella)*

Jess concurred with the senior teacher;

*We have different tribes here ... so we encourage them to use English or Kiswahili, it's good for you as a teacher or leader to use these languages too, also talk to them in polite language, and behave in ways that they*

*can admire, not calling them names, use good language that can be emulated.*

Generally, school leadership reinforced moral values through role modelling core values, and reinforcing policies for behaviour management. By influencing modes of group interaction, administrators helped avoid any re-victimisation through corporal punishments or peer violence (Salmi, 2006); helping children unlearn violence through administrators' and teachers' day-to-day exemplification (Staub, 2014).

#### 6.4.3 Reconstructing Intergroup Relations for Social Learning

The headteacher and deputy explained that whole-school interactive sessions e.g. assemblies and ceremonies, were tailored to build acceptance amongst members of the school community whilst targeting social integration in the wider society. Drawing from teachers' interviews, Gean, who was herself a victim of displacement, explained that the experiences of violence resulted in feelings of betrayal and alienation from 'others'. Thus, access to school provided children with social spaces for social integration and social learning; reconstructing pupils' social-selves; building their self-confidence and equipping them with skills to survive in their uncertain environments. For example, Roda talked about maturing girls being tricked into sexual activities for small gifts and succumbing, due to poverty. To counter such challenges, administrators designed assemblies and other school ceremonies towards developing:

- secure bonds with different members of the school community to counter previous detachment;
- recognising and encouraging pupils to be responsible members of the community through respecting and working with others;
- building self-confidence.

As the headteacher and deputy argued, social-interactive sessions aimed to situate social learning for the young people within the joint activities they participated in. However, follow-up interviews to understand why certain observed things occurred during such events revealed that, these routines not only nurtured relevant social

values like social responsibility, but allowed shared leadership across members of the school community. While subjects like music and dance (which the headteacher saw as marginalised in the main curriculum) were developed here through showcasing diverse talents, they also became means to building self-expression, confidence and communication skills; teacher leadership capacities thriving through exhibition of these talents. Performances were often themed for both educating and entertaining the school community.

Pic 6.1: Assembly activities intended to foster social and leadership interactions



In this picture, the headteacher, teachers and pupils were actively participating in school social routines. From my observations, assemblies and ceremonies allowed both vertical and horizontal communication of inclusion agendas whilst raising emerging issues using progressive dialogue (e.g. discipline, working hard or security). As Miller and Affolter (2002) note of conflict-affected children, sharing common social activities and nurturing pupils' sense of self contributes to psycho-social restoration.

Interestingly, whole-school interactive sessions foregrounded class-teacher leadership as the basis for introducing administrative leadership to the younger pupils. The headteacher asserted; *“majority of our pupils are in lower primary section, these children align themselves more with their regular class teacher than the school*

*administration*”. Consequently, assembly interactions enhanced administrators’ social influence on the younger ones, class teachers acting as intermediaries:

*The children will not necessarily look at me over and above their teachers; they will be able to see me as an extension of the leadership role that the teacher plays in the classroom. (Headteacher)*

Accordingly, pupils were gradually introduced to formal leadership through class-teacher leadership. Other designated teachers led in various assembly activities, whilst the Headteacher, Deputy and Senior teacher provided administrative leadership. In this way, whole-school activities and interactions facilitated shared leadership and social learning. Notably, different grades and their class teachers were encouraged to participate by presenting activities during assembly routines (in turns), seeking to enhance belonging and school networking. This also nurtured bottom-up and lateral leadership. Indeed, teacher leadership can be directly linked to their classroom practices (Katzenmeyer and Moller, 2001), and it is within classroom relationships that school-level leadership can negotiate inclusive agendas (Ruairc *et al.* (2013).

Having examined how emotional, moral and social reconstruction was fostered, I look at how school administrators advanced the school’s learning cultures.

## **6.5 Re/constructing Learning Cultures**

Absence from school impacts on learning and learning cultures (Davies, 2004). Through such understanding, headteacher expressed how attainments in especially literacy and numeracy were initially low in this school. According to Stella who mainly oversaw curriculum issues, poor literacy, especially in English, meant poor performance in all other subjects because the inability to read English meant difficulties in answering examination questions. She added that young people joining school from the street (i.e. street children) time and again required substantial attention in order to settle down for learning, catching-up and adapting to school cultures. For her, this diversity placed extra demands on school learning cultures

beside demands from the MOE, sponsors and the multiple ‘unlearning’ needs related to experiencing violence. The implication was that school leaders needed to identify new ways of working and learning that addressed historical shortcomings, day-to-day experiences whilst adjusting to stakeholders’ demands.

In response, the headteacher asserted his overall supervisory leadership towards quality assurance (Wanzare, 2012), whilst noting that this position did not mean imposing interventions on teachers. Thus, administrative leaders devised certain organisational interventions towards formal learning and social-emotional development, licencing teacher pedagogical leadership in formal and informal initiatives (Danielson, 2006).

First was the introduction of Primary Mathematics and Reading (PRIMR) approach. This was perceived as helpful towards improving literacy and numeracy. The headteacher explained how he and teachers organised participation in the program to allow lower primary teachers to attend a PRIMR course every term; taking one-week out of school. This course was well embraced by the majority of teachers, most of them explaining how it benefited many weak children. According to all the interviewed teachers, the PRIMR approach required modifying some of their traditional modes of teaching and learning, adapting new approaches (against familiar ones) consistent with emerging needs. For instance Gean, Jo and Jess saw the idea of pupils working in printed workbooks with limited space (for writing short answers only) as counter-productive in that, it lessened pupils’ normalcy of writing ‘a lot’. However, they also found the approach provided consistent ways of responding to literacy and numeracy challenges across grade levels. Jo, saw it as providing “*step-by-step*” approaches for even difficult tasks. It also allowed better focus on learning outcomes with better scope, “*starting with the simple things to the difficult ones*” suggesting a spectrum of learning areas. Jess and Gean said that it required teachers to invest in planning time and share learning materials and procedures with colleagues.

Second, at grade-levels, the senior teacher explained how they organised some routines for remedial sessions with cluster leaders, providing time to catch up or to finish homework particularly for less-able learners or those who joined school at irregular intervals. This called for collaborating with informal teacher leaders like Martha, who worked with lower primary teachers, planning how each grade remained behind for remedial sessions at least three days per week. This way, groups created shared time for consulting each other for support or for preparing lessons. In upper primary, the deputy mentioned how he and other teachers volunteered to remain at school after the usual school time to support those pupils who preferred to complete homework before going home.

When ‘specialist’ attention was needed, Stella (S/T) explained that teachers from ECDE were “*good in sounds*” and were consulted to enhance reading:

*Children remain behind in the afternoons and go to ECDE classes for additional help to equip them with at least basic reading skills because the ECDE teachers are good in those basics.*

Tina reiterated: “*we have learning in the afternoons, planning with the ECDE people because they are good with sounds; we read sounds with some kids*”.

It sounded like success in academic competencies and catching-up was largely dependent on teachers’ commitment, creativity and collaboration with colleagues. For them, to foster inclusive practices, instead of ‘exclusions’ during lesson time, additional learning was provided in the afternoon sessions. Basically, additional learning routines were collaboratively designed, redesigned and enacted within mutual interaction between formal and informal leadership (Spillane and Coldren, 2011:42).

Third, at whole-school level, school leadership organised parents’ learning sessions inviting them to school twice termly. ‘Academic Day’ targeted academic issues while ‘Teachers-Parents Meeting’ was on general dialogue about pupils’ welfare and issues of school importance. These meetings sought to reconstruct relationships with



parents in ways that supported and influenced home-school learning. In a parent-teachers meeting I attended, teacher Martha supported parents towards enhancing homework and revision at home. In this learning session, she used a sample revision book for standard three, talking it through to the parents to facilitate what she called “*helpful revision*” at home. The few parents in attendance [32 from the possible 120] asked questions about the best time to visit school due to their differing schedules. The headteacher encouraged them to visit school “*anytime possible*”.

Fourth, although constraints from curriculum and examination structures limited teachers’ scope for diversifying learning experiences, as discussed in 6.4.3, some space was created to nurture other capabilities:

*So, co-curriculum activities such as creative art, song, dance music, are a challenge we are working on. So that even those children who are not performing as well as their peers in academic areas may also feel part and parcel of the entire group which I believe is the essence of inclusion and retention for all children.*

Importantly, when external tests were perceived as unfair, the headteacher encouraged teachers to see beyond narrow-measured outcomes:

*Absolute figures do not mean everything, look at the holistic person you have moulded by the end of the year, we have a natural contract to take care of these children, not because of the contract we have with the Teaches Service Commission.*

Generally, experiences in this learning context showed that the favourable relational climate enabled by the headteacher empowered teachers (Harris and Lambert, 2003) in ways that increased their initiatives in meeting pupils’ academic-oriented needs. While the conventional curriculum constrained diversification of teaching approaches, allowance for discretion in classroom practices encouraged collaborative initiatives, utilising specialities and remedial learning sessions for those needing catching-up. Essentially, the interactions between administrators, informal leaders, teachers and their working routines (e.g. assemblies) and tools (e.g. core values) fundamentally defined leadership practice (Spillane and Coldren (2011). Despite the

numerous challenges identified in chapter 5, the progressing academic performance (Appendix 5.2) in this school demonstrated that inclusive practice and school improvement were not necessarily incompatible and that living in disadvantaged backgrounds did not necessarily translate into poor performance.

## **6.6 Conclusions**

Using guiding ideas from Davies (2004), this chapter has demonstrated how school leadership practice was advanced, mainly, by the headteacher actively enlisting all administrators and teachers to meet the complex learning and development needs of the young people in this post-conflict school. Despite compliance with elements of the traditional hierarchical single-leader paradigm, the headteacher licenced teacher leadership, allowing teachers some leadership discretion at lower operational levels as long as shared goals were met or exceeded (Gunter, 2005). Although parameters were agreed upon for teacher leaders' decision-making, fitting within such parameters sometimes constrained teachers' engagements with inclusion agendas. As such, teachers influenced their colleagues through advice-seeking behaviours as well as in different organisational routines e.g. assemblies or in planning remedial sessions (Spillane and Coldren, 2011). To foster social, emotional and moral learning and development, reconstruction of relationships called for reversing the effects of violence which required diligence and altruism for all practitioners. Since displacement meant disruption of schooling patterns, return to school required administrators to forge new learning cultures, disrupting unhelpful teaching/learning practices through supportive learning environments.

From these findings, one major question arises: "How can the nature of leadership practice and roles for school leaders be understood in post-conflict schooling contexts, such as the case studied in Kenya?" Chapter 7 addresses this question using findings from chapters 5 and 6, and extant literature.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **Discussions, Conclusions and Recommendations**

#### **7.0 Introduction**

In chapter 6, I reported findings on RQ3, revealing the approaches and roles adopted by school leadership in meeting the complex needs of conflict-affected young people. I revealed how school leadership attempted reconstruction of leadership structures, relationships, and learning cultures.

Based on the findings in chapters 5 and 6, in this chapter, my aim is to explore the fundamental question that guided this study as stated in chapter 1, i.e. “How can school leadership practice and roles for school leaders be understood in connection to inclusive practices in post-conflict community schools, such as the case studied in Kenya?” To do this, I pull together the analysis of findings across the three RQs and discuss them in detail in relation to the more theoretical chapters, i.e. chapters 1-4, thus, linking up the entire thesis. I demonstrate that approaches and roles adopted in leadership practice in pursuing inclusivity in post-conflict settings can only be understood by accounting for different features of the school context, and, how these features shape all leadership influence processes in meeting pupils’ needs. Thus, roles for school leadership are bound to realities of context, which may act as barriers or opportunities for furthering inclusiveness in fragmented societies.

Firstly, I recap the aim of this study and the key aspects of the research context. Secondly, to make clear my theoretical approach, I highlight how this study was developed. Thirdly, I discuss core thematic issues that emerged as fundamental in thinking about the link between leadership and inclusive practices in regard to conflict-affected young people which are: i) post-conflict conflict, ii) connectedness and iii) ‘Africanised’ school leadership. The latter involves a synthesis of the case’s findings in relation to existing literature on leadership in African schools including Kenya. In the final section, I present an overview of my contribution to knowledge and significance of this study’s findings in relation to my initial aim and knowledge

gaps identified within literature. I finally provide conclusions and recommendations for practice, policy and research. Although I draw from literature (chapters 1-4), this discussion is secured on the particularities of the study's context. Grounded on an intrinsic case study, I do not make claims to generalisation (Stake, 2003) yet, insights can be drawn regarding how context shapes all practices and roles for school leadership.

## **7.1 Aims of the Study**

The main aim of this intrinsic case was to explore and understand (Stake 2003) the increasing need for connecting school leadership practice and the process of fostering inclusive cultures (Theoharis and Causton, 2006; Edmund and Macmillan, 2010), with particular interest in a post-conflict community school in Kenya. Firstly, this necessitated an understanding of the perceptions of needs of young people in this school from teachers and pupils, before focusing on my particular interest, which was exploring how school leadership practice was developed and, what the headteacher and teachers perceived as their roles in influencing inclusive practices in this respect. My exploration adopted an interpretive approach. I employed some aspects of ethnography seeking to examine both explicit and implicit leadership practices, particularly those occurring in the "*lived*" organisation (Spillane and Coldren, 2011:78) as practitioners pursued inclusivity goals. Towards this aim, the following questions guided my study:

7. How did conflict-affected children perceive their own learning and development needs in relation to their inclusion in education after post-election violence, and how were these addressed through their interactions with their headteacher and teachers?
8. What challenges were experienced by school leaders in their practise of inclusive education intended to meet the perceived needs of pupils in post-conflict schooling?

9. How was school leadership practice taken forward in order to foster inclusive cultures and meet the learning and development needs of children in the post-conflict school?

## **7.2 Contextualising the Study**

This study was conducted in one primary school in Nakuru County, Kenya. The school was identified by local teachers as serving mainly conflict-affected children who lived in a local Internally Displaced Persons camp and others in a local orphanage. Both the camp and orphanage were by-products of the 2007/8 politically instigated, and tribal-oriented PEV in Kenya. These teachers reported that the school demonstrated high retention rates of conflict-affected children notwithstanding the post-conflict challenges. The findings I presented in chapter 5 and 6 revealed that these challenges were multiple, and they intersected in complex ways with other contextual factors such as the demands of the education system or local cultural practices, e.g. corporal punishment.

As noted in chapter 1, at the time of the research, the educational context in Kenya was characterised by the government's quest to provide targeted support to multiple groups historically marginalised or excluded from education mainly due to poverty or locational disadvantage. Yet, those exclusions from, and within education resulting from recurrent tribal-political violence have received less attention in policy documents (ROKSP14, 2012:41) despite an increase in such cases every five years during national elections (UNDP, 2011, see section 2.2.1). This disparity can be understood in terms of what my study revealed as tensions between realities of post-conflict schooling and government demands on practitioners.

My findings derive from observations of practice and cultures, interviews with the headteacher and teachers which provided them room to reflect on their experiences, practices and roles with conflict-affected children, as well as the perspectives of sixteen young people (9-12 years). Pupils' participation provided depth and multi-

level views (Merriam, 2009) and gave them room to express their own perceptions of how practitioners fostered inclusive cultures in the post-conflict school.

Overall, my analysis of findings in chapters 5 and 6 indicated that schooling and school leadership practice was characterised by what I have described as ‘post-conflict conflict’. By this I mean that the cessation of overt tribal violence coupled with the movement of pupils and their families into this new settlement ushered in a new phase of conflict for pupils, teachers, schools and their communities. From my findings, schooling experiences were characterised by pupils’ overlapping vulnerabilities related to: poverty, fragmented/mobile families, trauma, sibling-reared cases, living in the orphanage, violence in the camp, distorted social values after witnessing post-election atrocities, and, perceived distance between camp and non-camp communities. All these issues presented potential barriers to access, participation and achievement in education for many young people. My analysis of the pupils’ data showed that displacement, and not affording basic provisions, limited pupils’ access to education. Against this backdrop, it could be argued that children brought into school complex learning and development needs that went beyond ‘ordinary’ classroom learning; pupils having to unlearn violence, divisions and a fear of ‘others’.

Alongside these un/learning needs, pupils had to navigate the structural barriers within existing school systems. In the main, these included government-related needs, sponsor-related needs and value-based expectations from teachers, the local and broader society. Although my findings show that practitioners’ allegiances to the government’s prescriptions or, to their own social values often intruded in their quest to promote inclusive cultures, there was also evidence that practitioners were in a complex situation, mediating between pupils’ first-hand experiences of a violent world, a supposedly caring school community, and building a hopeful future. Such mediation involved shared sense-making (Schwandt, 2000) of the fragile socio-emotional and economic situations inside and outside school. This meant the journey through post-conflict re/construction for pupils, teachers and school leadership was complex and challenging, requiring school leaders to adopt certain strategies in

navigating day-to-day school experiences if school was to make sense for pupils and their community.

To understand how I reached this conclusion, I first highlight the process this inquiry followed indicating how and why I took an integrative approach in conducting this study as mentioned in sections 1.1 and 3.0.

### **7.3 Developing this Inquiry**

Before my fieldwork, my focus on conflict-affected children centred on how children's state of poverty risked their exclusion and participation in education. This led to my subsequent search for literature on leadership that might promote inclusive practices in this respect. However, in Kenya, literature on inclusion mainly focuses on SEN as opposed to what MOE (2008b) redefined as an all-inclusive lens that takes a broader scope and includes other marginalised groups. Thus, the few studies linking leadership and inclusion take SEN perspectives, e.g. Gongera *et al.* (2013). To find out what kind of leadership might support all-inclusive education elsewhere, I turned to global scholars like Yukl (2002); Gronn (2003); Bottery (2004); Gunter (2005); MacBeath (2009); Spillane and Coldren (2011). This scholarship provided me with useful insights into a broader understanding of school leadership practice, e.g. they recognised that leadership influence can be exercised by multiple others, formally or informally. However, there was little to do with inclusive practices. Just before my fieldwork, I found studies like Leo and Burton's (2006) on leadership and inclusion beyond SEN. Their research concluded that simplistic distinctions between issues such as moral, curriculum, and distributed leadership masked the multi-directional nature of leadership in relation to inclusive practices, and that distributed forms of leadership needed empirical examination. While noting that leadership based on moral values was fundamental in pursuing inclusive practices, their scope of study did not capture how moral dilemmas in post-conflict communities are responded to (see, 6.4). Other scholars studying school leadership for inclusion of diversity, like Kugelmass and Ainscow (2004) and more recently Ruairc, Ottesen and Precey (2013), or, leadership in challenging circumstances (Harries and Chapman,

2003) underscored the centrality of context in connecting leadership with inclusive practices while others emphasised ‘relationships’ (Shields, 2004). Nevertheless, how this connection occurs in conflict-affected zones remained unclear. So, I traced African scholarship in leadership for insights.

From chapter 3, Kiggundu (1991) observes that little is known about leadership, administration and management in pre-colonial Africa, due to lack of documentation, and that institutionalisation of colonial governance involved destruction of indigenous administrative systems. Masango, (2002); Nkomo, (2006); Oduol, (2014) and Msila, (2014) all argue that African models of school leadership are rigidly founded on Eurocentric perspectives, often constraining the African aspects of communal responsibility in leadership. Msila (2014) however draws attention to ‘shared’ or ‘participative’ leadership approaches in both African indigenous and the flatter Eurocentric perspectives, arguing that these underpin universal values to leadership and can overlap. Kiggundu nonetheless asserts that Africa is still rooted in her indigenous past. While this knowledge was insightful, it was also confusing. If the principles and values of inclusive practices are enacted within particular institutional, local or national policy trajectories (Ainscow *et al.* 2006:4; Ruairc *et al.* 2013) it was also possible that such values were drawn from either conformist practices or local indigenous heritage or both. Against this backdrop, I wondered how headteachers socialised in colonial-oriented solo-leadership perspectives in Kenya might enlist communal leadership in conflict-sensitive circumstances, and whether elements of indigenous heritage were preserved. The findings in chapter 6, and my discussion here, provide insights into this issue. Since research does not reside in a conceptual vacuum (Franklin, 2012), and not wanting to impose rigid assumptions in a new field of research, I adopted open ideas on ‘shared leadership’ (African and Eurocentric thinking) towards an exploration of both implicit and explicit leadership influences in the Kenyan post-conflict case.

During my data collection and subsequent analysis, it was clear that issues of inclusion went far beyond my initial focus on poverty. Indeed, children were experiencing overlapping vulnerabilities and difficulties. It also emerged that school



leadership was a complex, rather than a linear process, particularly in relation to 'influence processes'. This was because groups competed with, or complemented each other in meeting pupils' needs. During my data analysis (2014), I found studies on leadership in post-conflict education that were emerging (at the time of writing, only one book edited by Clarke and O'Donoghue in 2013 was available). Clarke and O'Donoghue indicated how different post-conflict contexts mattered in shaping principals' leadership; however, there was little attention to leadership beyond that of the principals. The case provided of Kenya (Dattoo and Johnson, 2013) concluded that after PEV, school leadership remained a daunting task for principals, as they focused on management of resources and examinations, despite immense social tensions. Thus, when my study started in October 2012, there was a dearth of knowledge on school leadership in post-conflict education, let alone linking post-conflict school leadership with inclusive practices.

Similarly, the roles for school leaders in fostering inclusive practices in post-conflict settings were unclear (section 3.2). As shown in chapter 6, insights from Lynn Davies (2004) provided me with a starting point in making sense of the overwhelming research data I had gathered in this area. As such, her ideas were incorporated into the literature reviewed in the second section of chapter 3. Davies has conducted extensive research and has experience in numerous conflicted-affected societies globally, including Kenya. Her 2004 book, from which I drew insights, discusses the relationship between education and social conflict; indicating the multiple faces of education in conflict, to which my study's context could draw parallels. In terms of direct relevance to this thesis, Davies argues that education can reproduce inequalities in access, participation and achievement in education through day-to-day normalcy (2010) and asks how school leadership might be modelled in such circumstances (2005). To provide insights into an understanding of leadership in post-conflict settings, I now discuss what I consider to be the major findings from my case study.

The connection between school leadership and inclusion in post-conflict community schools can be understood along three themes i) Post-conflict conflict, ii)

connectedness and iii) ‘Africanised’ school leadership. Although my reviewed literature presented issues related to ‘inclusion’ and ‘leadership’ separately, this discussion, consistent with the aim of this study, attempts to connect the two whilst highlighting each within the points being made.

#### **7.4 Post-Conflict Conflict**

The evidence emerging from my study suggests that, although practitioners’ working circumstances could have generally been supposed to have resumed normalcy (KPTJ, 2010), seven years (by 2014) after the post-election violence, schooling and school leadership practice was characterised by what I perceived as *post-conflict conflict*. By this I mean, the cessation of overt tribal violence coupled with the movement of pupils and their families into this new settlement ushered in a new phase of conflict for school leadership, pupils, teachers, schools and their communities. This situation was exacerbated by systemic structures and expectations from the broader society, meaning that administrators had to inevitably modify structures and strategies (UNESCO, 2009) in day-to-day practice if educational experiences were to make sense for conflict-affected children. In chapter 6, I revealed how this occurred, e.g. through reconstruction of leadership structures; reconstruction of relationships and re/construction of learning cultures. However, these ‘reconstructions’ were characterised by conflicts and contradictions. Reconstruction of leadership structures was particularly interesting, considering the link between leadership and social influence (Northouse, 2001; Yukl, 2002) and that influence was key in articulating inclusivity agendas and reversing negative conflict.

As shown in section 3.1.2, Yukl (2002:141) and Spillane (2006) argued that the process of influence is contested especially in terms of the outcomes of influence. As the current case study reveals, not only were outcomes of leadership influence contested, but also who could justifiably influence certain domains of post-conflict education towards promoting inclusiveness for conflict-affected children.

Firstly, positioning of social actors stimulated either complementary or competing influence pegged on realities of context highlighted in section 7.2. Thus, options for restructuring leadership were context-driven with contestations. Section 5.2.3 showed that the greatest pressure on the school administrators came from the Government-NGO partnership whose expectations on key day-to-day issues like curriculum, examinations or who should/not access this school, were often contradictory, leaving administrators in the middle. This echoes what Gunter (2012) perceives as state-manipulated governance to meet state-driven needs in UK schools. In such circumstance, Gronn (2003) notes a possibility of administrators drifting towards government agendas in order to keep their job. As a result, they may stimulate the commitment of teachers to do more than expected, especially by adopting transformational leadership techniques. As noted in sections 3.1.3 and 3.1.4 (Kenya and Eurocentric leadership literature) transformational approaches present a 'convenient' means to responding to state-oriented goals (Gronn, 2003; Bottery, 2004). In my case, subtle features of transformational leadership were palpable, for instance, although the end of year tests had been found inconsistent with pupils' learning experiences (section 5.2.3), the teachers were required to follow the guidelines from the Zonal Office to match prescribed test regimes.

Beyond adhering to government-NGO priorities, teachers' position in school provided them with first-hand experiences with conflict-affected children. Consequently, teachers' interpretation of their situation necessitated accounting for, and taking action (Miles and Huberman, 1994) through localised goal-setting, based on their shared sense-making. They thus adjusted their priorities along day-to-day, real, social and educational concerns (Merriam, 2009), e.g. integrating IDPs and non-IDPs against initial NGO stipulations; initiating interactive activities for unlearning violence, social division or fear of 'others' within rigid timetables, and shared-decision making that nurtured communal-oriented leadership. In that case, teachers' sphere of influence was expanded amongst themselves and beyond school walls, although within parameters established jointly with administrators. This practice nurtured small communities of interactive learning which resolved real issues unfolding day-by-day, e.g. a team addressing a boy's self-exclusion after

involvement in school violence. This implied that, although working in circumstances permeated by contradictions, it was necessary that teachers' knowledge, experience and proximity to children be recognised in any leadership arrangements. Yukl (2002) provides an explanation for this behaviour amongst practitioners (section 3.1.3). He posits that acceptance of any authority's influence (e.g. NGO or government's) may be dependent on the extent to which teachers perceive such authority's intentions as consistent or contradictory to the basic values and principles of their social organisation. That means, teachers do evaluate 'authorities' and to some extent, contend stipulations that run counter to their teaching values in favour of their pupils' wellbeing.

Another post-conflict conflict emerged with leadership's attempt to negotiate an inclusive curriculum. As highlighted in chapter 2, conventional statements by the MOE reiterate the need for relevant and inclusive education in Kenya. For instance, policy requires that education encourages non-formal curricula activities such as music, dance, games, and debating for schools (ROKSP14, 2012:14) allowing different Kenyan cultural traditions to be celebrated as part of school life. In practice, while administrators identified these forms of learning as core avenues to boost pupils' self-confidence or towards what Bush and Saltarelli's (2000:16) call *"desegregating of the mind"* of conflict-affected children, the same policy machineries constrained their efforts by expecting them to prioritise core-curriculum subjects at the expense of other forms of learning. Similar to findings by Winthrop (2008) about children from refugee camps, in their write-ups, children's expression of their needs revealed what they perceived as valuable learning which included developing artistic or sporting abilities. For the headteacher in the case study school, licencing leadership of collaborative working groups (Gunter, 2005) created space for drawing teachers varied expertise in reinforcing extra-curriculum activities; nurturing pupils' talents beyond the core-curriculum. UNESCO (2009) advocates for children's participation in their cultures and communities towards promoting inclusiveness whilst Young (2005) argue that cultural suppression can arise from school cultures where dominant practices uphold particular outcomes (e.g., grade scores) and not what is valued by children and their communities. When narrow

cognitive outcomes become the exclusive focus, it can be argued that the government, due to its position, defines the ‘relevance agenda.’ This means, the state becomes the direct beneficiary of school outcomes, such outcomes rating the country’s education system as globally competitive while what is relevant to the needs of students and communities become blurred. Indeed in Kenya, many young people have been noted to have limited access to jobs even after going through education due to irrelevance of the curriculum (UNDAF-Kenya 2010-2012).

Consequently, it could be argued that the outcomes desired of any ‘influence processes’ and the positioning of actors in relation to pupils’ needs, constraints or creates possibilities that shape the trajectory of leadership. Indeed, meaningful influence processes were pegged on a thorough understanding of the interconnected aspects of the particular context and how these shaped pupils’ inclusion or exclusion. While post-conflict conflicts constrained practitioners’ efforts in supporting pupils, it was also clear that how administrators made sense of their circumstances (Creswell, 2007) led to adopting what works in their context (Simkins, 2007) e.g. promoting collective leadership and shared decision-making. That way, they together averted counterproductive situations like dividing IDPs and non-IDPs (see 5.2.2) or denying pupils extra-curricular experiences which were found useful in diversifying learning. In this vein, consistent with Yukl (2002), influence processes criss-crossed from top-bottom, bottom-up and horizontally across members. This indicated that leadership influence in pursuing inclusive cultures in post-conflict schools was not the monopoly of the headteacher as traditional Kenyan literature and policy tends to frame it in ‘ordinary’ school circumstances (TSC, 2007; Cullen *et al.*, 2012).

Next, I look at how school leadership negotiated ‘connectedness’.

## **7.5 Connectedness**

I identified a theme of *connectedness* in my data. I argue that, although practitioners were expected to reverse the effects of societal fragmentation (World Bank, 2005), stigmatisation and trauma (Koderö and Misigo, 2010), the broader national context

was imbued with social and moral dilemmas (Nairobi Peace Initiative [NPI-Kenya], 2012) that threatened cohesion amongst communities. Nevertheless, evidence showed that the young people's sense of connectedness to one another thrived in adversity. Two interrelated and overlapping themes will structure this discussion:

- a) administrator-pupils' connectedness
- b) peer connectedness

#### 7.5.1 Administrator-pupils' Connectedness

Practitioners' emotional repertoires with conflict-affected pupils can influence their decision-making processes, producing actions that are responsive to their social-political circumstances (Nightingale and Cromby, 2002). Yet, in the case study, pupils' emotional repertoires appeared to complicate attempts to forge moral-connectedness between school leadership and pupils. While Leo and Burton (2006) and Ruairc *et al.* (2013) argue that leadership for inclusion is entrenched in moral consciousness, how this is enacted in circumstances pervaded by post-conflict conflicts is not necessarily straightforward. My evidence demonstrated that different stakeholders operated at different proximities to the realities of pupils' learning context, with indications of 'relative' moral orientations. In chapter 3, Oduol (2014:18) pointed to morals as consensually drawn beliefs, standards, and principles about good conduct taken as obligatory for all community members – but that was not reflected in my data, where a diversity of moral-stances were evident.

In chapter 2, I indicated the challenge experienced in bonding victims and non-victims of violence and displacement as a current global social dilemma (KPTJ, 2010; Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Staub, 2014) even in schools (Weinstein *et al.* 2007; Kum, 2011). Beyond this challenge, how moral distortion linked to experiences of violence (Boyden and Ryder, 1996) impacted on pupils' 'mistrust' of school leadership in this case was interesting. Whereas PEV occurred mainly outside schools (KHRC, 2011), it resulted in inherent fear and suspicion of 'others', even inside schools (Barakat, 2012). My evidence showed that the desire to foster practitioner-pupils' attachment at school was somewhat jeopardised by events of

PEV; children having witnessed or experienced atrocities linked to adults and political leadership. Besides what the young peoples' write-ups showed as initial fear of teachers and uncertainty about life in the new school, some practitioners provided evidence that children dreaded encounters with especially, administrative leadership, for fear of being re-victimised or 'killed' based on pupils' former experiences of violence. In these circumstances, for pupils to unlearn mistrust and adult-betrayal, school leaders required high-level moral authority to counter association with political leaders and related atrocities. Indeed, it is possible to argue from the pupils' perspective that, if their known neighbours in pre-violence communities were witnessed burning property, killing or betraying their long-established community members (KPTJ, 2010; Kamungi, 2013), it was also possible for the new unknown neighbours (practitioners in this school) to be unpredictable. While suspicion by pupils perhaps meant keeping safe from potential harm, for school administrators, demonstrating their commitment to shared moral values, e.g. school core values, was not easy task. High moral-sensitivity and recurrent moderation of behavioural management practices became sustained means for leaders connecting with pupils, in other words, proactive role-modelling of moral values in day-to-day school life (Msila, 2014). This awareness is important for practitioners in similar circumstances because, pursuing inclusive cultures involves being reflective of societal dysfunctionalities, alongside a commitment to tackle socially-produced barriers (Gorski, 2010) even where practitioners have not contributed to, or are victims themselves. This way, administrator-pupils connectedness contributes to repairing lost trust in communities.

Secondly, since independence in 1963, the government has reiterated the purpose of education as that of addressing ignorance, disease and poverty in a bid to close the societal gap between the privileged and marginalised groups (MOE, 2008; 2012). Yet, fifty-one years on (in 2014), evidence from the young people was clear about the existence of these three deprivations (5.1.3). These were exacerbated by the politically-triggered violence (Misigo and Koderu, 2010). As literature demonstrated in chapter 2, education systems have been blamed for reproducing individualism and conflict through differentiated provision of education (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000;

Shamada, 2010). Educators have been actors in the reproduction of social stratification (Gorski, 2010), knowingly or unknowingly (Shields, 2004). While literature testifies that the post-independence governments have recycled colonial mentality where leadership perpetuates stratification and marginalisation of communities (Hughes, 2011) through education (Shamada, 2010), school leadership in the case study demonstrated their concern that IDC were likely to miss out on opportunities in well-established secondary schools after completion of standard eight due to poverty, so they intervened (see 6.3.3). While lack of secondary schools is common in most post-conflict situations (Buckland, 2006; Sommers, 2009), it was clear that administrators' involvement in a project seeking expansion of a local secondary school would not only overcome barriers to participation in, and transition to secondary schools, but showed solidarity with the IDPs towards alleviating both generational and situational disadvantage in education. Although government policies impress upon the need for social integration within national schools (ROKSP14, 2012), existing structures meant that the chances for IDPs to join national schools were minimal. It can be argued that this societal divide, in terms of access to national schools which is hampered by poverty, denies the very victims of social disintegration, like IDPs, the social-cultural capital that comes with integration at national levels. As literature confirms, schools stratification in Kenya sees pupils from low socio-economic background remaining in the least resourced schools (Shimada, 2010; Oduol, 2014) with poor academic outcomes (Rono *et al.*, 2014). Understanding such inequalities saw practitioners empathising with their pupils' plight through advocacy and agency.

Conversely, practitioners' desire for connectedness featured attempts to disconnect pupils from what practitioners perceived to be 'camp-like' mentality. This can be interpreted as deficit thinking and stigmatisation of pupils' heritage (Shields, 2004). Interestingly, teachers seemed oblivious of the damage such labelling might cause and continued to encourage pupils to 'think beyond camp levels'. As chapter 5 reveals, teachers and the broader society appeared to stand on the righteous end of values through subtle or unconscious denigration of camp lifestyle. To me, deficit mentality from teachers was nurturing a deficit mentality in pupils with possibilities



of ‘stirring’ pupils against their own heritage or perceiving themselves as to blame for their unfortunate situations.

Beyond practitioners-pupils connectedness, peer-connectedness was evident.

### 7.5.2 Peer-Connectedness

While major efforts to bring harmony in conflict-affected communities have targeted community levels (World Bank, 2005; Tebbe, 2007), it was evident that the agency of young people after adversity provides a major contribution in pursuing not only social cohesion but also inclusive school cultures. Peer-connectedness in the case study indicated what Stahl (2003:2880) in chapter 4 described as “*consensus of the affected parties*” in social constructionism. By demonstrating peer-minding or ‘peer-keeping’, i.e. persistently following-up each other in and outside school or encouraging and supporting fellow peers to avoid self, school or home-related exclusions, children revealed that they were more mindful of their peers than reports have shown in other studies (Kum, 2011; Rono *et al.*, 2014). Kamungi’s (2013:10) findings about the label ‘IDPs’ in Kenya, can in part provide explanations for pupils’ keenness to peer-connectedness. Some of Kamungi’s respondents found this label “*an insult*” and that living in IDP camps signified poverty and inability to bounce back after adversity. Paradoxically, in the current study, it was clear that being IDPs strengthened pupils’ closeness, and they endeavoured to journey together through education to overcome what their expressions presented as uncomfortable social disadvantage, e.g. being sponsored instead of being self-reliant. While Miller and Affolter (2002) underscore the importance of conflict-affected children ‘talking’ to one another towards healing and reconciliation after conflict, pupils’ dialogue in this case became the essence of peers minding each other’s welfare in and beyond school, besides providing the base for their inspiration for future success. Peer-connectedness fostered not only inclusiveness at pupils’ level, but also pupils’ social-consciousness towards their communities. Davies (2010) argues that the impact of education in bringing about social transformation after conflict remains unclear, but there are chances that it concerns building resilience. Following this assumption, peer-connectedness herein created a catalyst for boosting resilience amongst the

young people. It was interesting to learn that children who had been ‘failed’ by the adult community perceived themselves as potential agents of change, bearing a social inclusivity mind-set despite adversity.

Alongside mutual problem-solving to promote their retention in school, peer-connectedness also shaped how values and norms for schooling were pursued. This connectedness became fundamental in shaping what Bush and Saltarelli (2000) term as joint ‘rules for interactions’ as well as pupils’ construction of new learning cultures (Davies 2004). Although evidence from practitioners showed that restoring the young peoples’ sense of self or community involved patience and sometimes frustrations, interestingly, pupils noted how practitioners’ reinforcement on peer-connectedness encouraged joint responsibility in nurturing group cohesion and collaborative learning. While it was noted in chapter 2 that fostering inclusive culture allegedly compromises academic standards, it was clear from these pupils’ perspectives that peer-connectedness was a virtue that fostered concern for others’ learning, contributing to both academic and social learning processes. Consequently, understanding pupils’ behaviour in adversity is vital because, pupils’ interconnectedness can become their social capital (Spillane, 2006) even in limiting conditions, forming a base for improvement of learning standards whilst strengthening an inclusive ethos. As UNICEF (2014) posits, communities have failed to prioritise the principles of living together in their race for global competitiveness. This potentially produces clever, but socially disconnected graduates. Indeed, uncritical globalisation has also compromised how African school leadership is constructed and enacted in response to such inclusion related issues.

## **7.6 ‘Africanised’ Leadership in African Schools**

In chapter 3, I noted Msila’s (2014) attempts to locate African Indigenous Leadership (AIL) heritage in current Eurocentric educational leadership practices, mentioning a need to focus on people rather than processes only. Yet, Nkomo (2006:3) argued that finding alternatives between colonised images and counter images of leadership in African context is challenging. This was the case in this study’s context. Although

the study was intrinsic with no assertions for generalisations (Stake, 2003) and Africa may have “*distinct, consistent and enduring commonalities transcending geographic boundaries and ethnicity*” (Ngara, 2007:9), essentialising African leadership within the vast cultural diversity in simplistic. Nonetheless, elements of what literature (section 3.1.5) terms as communal responsibility (Masango, 2002; Msila, 2014) or what Kiggundu (1991) describes as delegation and supportive networks of leaders in AIL, were evident. However, these were overlapped by Eurocentric perspectives like transformational leadership (Bottery, 2004) or informal leadership (Yukl, 2004) where leadership was presented as an organisational quality flowing through networks of roles (Ogawa and Bossert, 1995).

Based on my evidence herein, I argue that, uncritical adoption of globalised approaches to leadership and management in African contexts (Nkomo, 2006) might result in more dilemmas for school leaders whose leadership challenges are better responded to through context driven and more indigenous underpinnings of community life. Lacking such criticality also masks potential African heritage at work in schools, a heritage which can be useful in responding to sensitive issues like societal disintegration, tension and mistrust in local communities. While school leaders might have drawn on some principles of leadership which cut across borders (Msila, 2014) uncritical application can impede, rather than foster, reconstruction in post-conflict conditions, or, distance the members from their heritage.

Indeed, current efforts to redefine Kenyan leadership to conform to the 21<sup>st</sup> century have seen recent framing of leadership in Kenya along transformational approaches (Mwangi *et al.*, 2011; Ayiro, 2014) as best practice (Osman and Mukuna, 2013:1). In practice, these perspectives have focused on individual principals’ capacity to influence teachers’ commitment in improving school performance, in ways that conflate transformational leadership with heroic leadership (Bottery, 2004). In other words, the show is run by the headteachers only. Indeed, there were aspects of transformational leadership in the case study, with the headteacher stimulating teachers to exceed expectations. He recognised their interests, experience and difficulties with conflict-affected children, then organised attendance on

development courses (e.g. PRIMR) and provided support as much as possible. Although the school did not have an overtly stated vision, tools referenced by practitioners and pupils (core values and school mission) indicated the direction and goals they jointly constructed. These goals shaped how leadership was exercised, implying that leadership was socially constructed (Spillane 2005) and a climate of collaboration and dialogue promoted commitment to shared goals. While the transformational model has been seen to entail technique, rather than the purpose of leadership (Bottery, 2004), the purpose for leadership in the case study was clearly anchored on amassing holistic support for vulnerable children and fostering their holistic development in response to their violence-related difficulties. Leadership practice was founded on what practitioners saw as their collective responsibility to their society, which can be interpreted as part of the Kenyan spirit (*Harambee*) of pooling effort (Eshiwani, 1990).

The findings also showed that, constant portrayal of school leadership practices in Kenya (TSC 2007; Musera *et al.*, 2012; MOE, 2012c) and indeed Africa (Nkomo, 2006; Davies, 2013) in pure financial and resource management trajectories in policy and scholarship obscures the social-cultural dimension of administrators' work. Masango (2002) commends the rich social-cultural attachment in African societies which Ngara (2007) argues suffers misrecognition by Eurocentric authors. It is possible that social-cultural aspects evidenced in teachers' interactive networks in the case study, e.g. reciprocal, mutual or communal responsibility in tackling known and emerging difficulties, could constitute elements of flatter Eurocentric approaches such as what Gronn (2003) calls concerted action or community-oriented leadership (Crowther, 2008). Yet, this overlap might be overlooked perhaps avoiding what Nkomo (2006) terms as stereotypical colonised thinking on excessive cultural relativism. While some elements of African and Eurocentric lenses indeed overlap, as noted in the case, African-related particularities may be rendered invisible through fear of being perceived as uncultured (Nkomo, 2006; Ngara, 2007). Yet, indigenous particularities, e.g. 'mutuality' can potentially inspire organic connections between school and communities served; providing pupils experiences that are relevant to their complex social, academic and cultural lives.

Moreover, whilst resource management was part of the headteacher's work in the case study school, it could be argued that a persistent focus on what headteachers do inside their offices as managers (Dattoo and Johnson, 2013) is simplistic. Consistent with what Nkomo (2006) terms as perceptions of Eurocentric authors or prescriptions by international agencies like the World Bank (Davies, 2013), adopting such thinking masks headteachers' broader engagement with the realities of practice in post-conflict circumstances. Indeed, all three administrators expressed their networks and interdependences with other teachers, considering that their working situation always required sensitive decision-making alongside assorted creative initiatives. Thus, locating leadership in 'principals offices' only encourages maintenance of conventional arrangements in leadership, e.g. leadership for management (Musera *et al.*, 2012), overlooking other responsibilities and interdependencies with teachers. Indeed, while policy rhetoric advocates for more participative and collaborative leadership (MOE, 2012a) the same policy constrains it by elevating principals' leadership (TSC, Act 2012) intending to avert risks in managing scarce resources in African contexts.

More recently, to comply with the colonial-inherited design of leadership (Kindiki *et al.*, 2008) now overlapping with new governance regimes that require results-based management (UNESS-Kenya, 2010-11; MOE, 2012b; Oduol, 2014), evidence from the headteacher indicated that the space for infusing aspects of African heritage was narrowing, as demands for being globalised increased through the government-NGO partnerships. As literature in chapter 2 indicated, narrow cognitive results-based practices have been cited as barriers to inclusion in different contexts (Ogot, 2008; Florian, 2008). While drawing on ideas from global communities may not necessarily be negative, uncritical adoption, or substitution of the local with the global, has been found to produce unnecessary ethical issues in Kenya (Oduol, 2014) or turbulence leading to more conflict in post-conflict communities (Davies, 2004; Obura and Bird, 2010).

Finally, it is possible to argue that, having inherited and socialised in single-leader paradigms characterised by colonial legacy, as Nkomo argues, departure from this normality, or associating with aspects of African indigenous heritage, may be uncommon even for would-be advocates. While Kenyan literature showed that the current hierarchical leadership in schools is imbued with tensions between headteachers, teachers, parents and students, evidence in chapter 6 provided indications that when times are difficult, un/conscious departure from rigid structures to flatter, and more lateral approaches can occur although state-scripted configurations of leadership remain. Indeed, as studies in leadership in challenging circumstances have identified, there is a need for a headteacher to combine knowledge of context and personal strategies (Harries and Chapman, 2003). The headteacher in this case utilised his interpersonal relationships with teachers, social-cultural knowledge of the context and an analysis of current conditions to cultivate trust amongst teachers. By drawing on their expertise and commitment to social ideals, he licenced informal leadership (Gunter, 2005) which expanded teachers' spheres of influence in response to known and emerging issues. Yet, this move can also be interpreted as safeguarding the leadership hierarchy (the headteacher's positional eminence) meeting the interests of the broader community (Spillane and Coldren, 2011). This means that leadership for inclusivity in post-conflict settings was consciously located in known Eurocentric structures, e.g. positions in school, but un/consciously drawing into contextualised ideals of African heritage, e.g. mutuality, reciprocity and communal responsibility, in order to be responsive to their realities. Uncritical analysis of this overlap may render invisible aspects of AIL in favour of Eurocentric ideals; detaching leadership practice from its local heritage. This is because as Gupta and Wart (2016) note, the tenets of AIL were compromised or destroyed through European missionaries and colonial administration values, distancing their 'choice leaders' from the realities of their communities. Accordingly, subsequent classical representation of African leadership became that of deficiency and incapacity, impacting Africans' image of their own indigenous leadership.

## **7.7 My Contribution to Knowledge**

First, my evidence demonstrates that pursuing inclusive practices in a post-conflict setting requires an understanding of the multiple overlapping needs that children bring into school, as well as challenges they encounter in their day-to-day schooling processes. This understanding informs how school leadership practice is construed and advanced. However, such understanding may disaffirm provisions within the existing educational system, where the needs of stakeholders constrain attempts at meeting pupils' needs. To navigate such contradictions, shared approaches to leadership as discussed in Eurocentric literature (e.g. Crowther, 2008; Gronn, 2009) as well as African perspectives e.g. collective and communal responsibility (Masango, 2002; Msila, 2014) occurred in the case study, but in subtle ways. While dominant hierarchical paradigms sought to meet overall accountability for school agendas and engaging in higher-level external dealings, e.g. the Government-NGO partnership; day-to-day leadership operations in terms of decision-making on issues impacting inclusive cultures, e.g. curriculum adaptations or extreme socio-emotional difficulties, were pursued through licencing teachers' informal leadership. This finding was unlike other studies that focus and attribute all school leadership on headteachers in Kenya (Osman and Mukuna, 2012; Musera *et al.*, 2012).

Secondly, conformist suppositions of leadership in Kenya, in terms of the style used by the headteacher (e.g. autocratic) or personality (charismatic) (Musera *et al.*, 2012) or the principals' capacity (Osman and Mukuna 2013) mask our understanding of leadership as a practice and as a social influence process residing within relationships at different levels, times and circumstances in schools (Yukl, 2004). Although positional leaders emerged as the obvious leaders in this school (as in other studies), social influence processes that transpired in professional networks behind the curtains of administrators is what informed and supported their overt success in sustaining and retaining the young vulnerable people in school.

Thirdly, conventional emphasis on headteachers' leadership and management in Kenya has been on academic performance (Mwangi, 2012; Mwamuye and Mulambe, 2012; Rono *et al.*, 2014) and financial accountability (MOE, 2012b). Elsewhere, recent Eurocentric leadership discourses have attributed teacher leadership to school

improvement and raising standards through achievement in test scores (Timperley, 2009). In the case study school, a clear commitment to good performance was communicated to parents during meetings, and to pupils through celebration of success in different fields. Pupils pursued this goal through peer-connectedness which was a means for developing solidarity, resilience and group-value for education. Beyond evidenced improvement in academic standards, teacher leadership was particularly geared towards nurturing the core values of the school which formed the foundation for achievement of both academic and social learning for reconstruction of their fragmented community. This revealed African indigenous thinking about collectivist and participatory models of learning with a community focus (Ngara, 2007:9) veiled in dominant Eurocentric robes. And by administrators cultivating leadership interdependencies in especially school decision-making, it is possible that ‘power monopoly’ by headteachers which purportedly weakens mechanisms of financial accountability, remains checked, addressing government’s concern in issues of misappropriation of funds.

Fourthly, by perceiving leadership as a collective and communal responsibility in this school, it was assumed that teachers would exercise leadership influence as an integral part of being a teacher (Gunter, 2001; Torrance, 2013). For the deputy and senior teacher, their positions as administrators granted their leadership attribution. For teachers, beyond ascription of leadership alongside their interest and expertise in different areas of the curriculum, both the headteacher and teachers saw the trajectory of this leadership as clearly underpinned by a social responsibility to guide the young people and their care-givers on social-moral agendas going beyond the school walls. Yet, this understanding entailed high moral-sensitivity on the part of school leadership, working against the marred image of leadership, occasioned by political leadership (KPTJ, 2010). Thus, beyond leadership for inclusive education (Kugelmass and Ainscow, 2004; Edmund and Macmillan, 2010; Ruairc *et al*, 2013), there was leadership for repairing the moral distortion linked to political leadership.

Finally, the case reveals that the headteacher was drawing his approaches to leadership from multiple underpinnings: national socio-political dynamics, school



administration hierarchy, African values, personal and professional values, and the flatter Eurocentric models of shared decision-making. It could thus be argued that, while conventional hierarchical thinking framed much of the obvious leadership, leadership approaches and roles for school leadership could not be understood in linear patterns, and that both formal and informal leadership co-existed, contributing to the levels of inclusive cultures evidenced in the school. Importantly, although veiled by dominant Eurocentric conventions, there were elements of African indigenous heritage in practitioners' practice, perhaps contributing to the high retention rates of pupils that teachers reported before I began this study (chapter 4). These arguments lead to the following overall conclusions.

## **7. 8 Conclusions from Discussions**

Based on my interpretation of evidence, knowledge of context and the literature reviewed, this thesis draws the following conclusions. Firstly, the connection between school leadership and fostering inclusive cultures in post-conflict settings can only be understood through accounting for how all aspects of the particular context shape all leadership influence processes. This involves the intersection between social, cultural, political, systemic and African traditional heritage; and how the relationship between these elements is interpreted and constructed to inform practitioners' actions.

Secondly, as the nature of leadership for inclusivity is determined by context, different elements of context can compete to inhibit inclusion agendas, e.g. societal dysfunctionalities or stakeholders' interests. However, whether school leadership takes responsibility for advocacy or change determines how leadership is advanced and the levels of success accomplished in fostering inclusive cultures. This task is not straightforward and may not remain exclusive to conformist hierarchical leadership practices. Enlisting informal leadership sees teachers' scope of influence expand beyond school walls, underpinned by a commitment to repair their fragmented community. The study reveals that advancing school leadership for

inclusivity in post-conflict circumstances in an African context such as Kenya can generally be characterised by:

*a) Overlapping vulnerabilities*

Whereas the rhetoric by the Ministry of education (2008b; 2012a/a; ROKSP14, 2012) emphasises the need for inclusive education advancing a broader scope of concerns, much of conventional discourse in literature, research and policy concerns SEN. While advocating support for children experiencing SEN is important, exclusive focus on SEN deflects policy makers', educators' and other agents' attention from the real issues that intersect to produce, and exacerbate, all forms of educational exclusions or marginalisation. Such issues include violent conflicts, poverty, educational stratification, inaccessible or irrelevant education, government-oriented outcomes, community-tensions and political dysfunctionalities. All these factors work against school leaders in pursuing inclusive cultures. As evidence shows, difficulties do not present single-handedly: homelessness; fragmented families; orphans; social, emotional and behavioural difficulties, all necessitated multiple learning and unlearning interventions, beside material provisions. For the conflict-affected young people, unlearning violence, division, fear and mistrust revealed that their needs transcended those of pupils learning in 'normal' circumstances.

*b) Post-conflict conflict*

The cessation of overt violence ushers in new forms of conflict. Contextual realities, positioning of actors and associated policies interact to contradict or complicate attention on pupils' needs. Although school leaders are constrained, understanding the needs of the young people and the contexts under which they are pursuing education inspires action and advocacy.

*c) Fostering connectedness*

For school leadership, desire for connectedness is both constrained and inspired by events and outcomes of PEV, e.g. social disintegration and moral distortions. For the young people, adversity boosted peer solidarity and agency.

#### *d) African heritage*

There were indications that Kenyan African heritage is veiled by dominant Eurocentric leadership conventions in schools. While Msila (2014) links the universal values in both African and Eurocentric approaches, for practitioners in Kenya, the overlap depicted them as outwardly Eurocentric, but inwardly deep-rooted in indigenous heritage.

Following on from these conclusions, I suggest the following recommendations for policy, practice and research.

### **7.9 Recommendations**

Given the intrinsic goals, particularity (Stake, 2003) and the small-scale nature of this study, recommendations are advanced with caution, in the main, to stimulate deeper interrogation into the connection between leadership and inclusive practices, particularly in conflict-affected settings as a new field of inquiry (Clarke and O'Donoghue, 2013). This is especially so, in understanding how education policy interacts with practice to create barriers or opportunities for marginalised communities.

#### *a) Policy and Practice*

The greatest challenge that school leadership faced in pursuing inclusive cultures was linked to policy contradictions \_ a major contributor to post-conflict conflict. The use of competitive examination regimes narrowed chances for collaboration for a group that was already experiencing disintegration. Policy statements for inclusive education stand strong (MOE, 2008b) however, reductive definitions of learning, coupled by conformist assessment, render policy more exclusionary than inclusive. The policy on relevance and purpose for education requires rethinking to allow broader learning experiences, offering all learners opportunities to flourish in school life. Different forms of learning were found to support pupils' coping with turbulence. This recognition means that policy should not just be stipulated on paper, but should

be followed by provision of resources (time and finances) to support practitioners' initiatives in this respect.

An analysis of policy on marginalised communities shows either the normalising or overlooking of the needs of internally displaced children, which go well beyond those in 'ordinary' circumstances. Similar to other cases of locational marginalisation like ASAL or urban slums (ROKSP14, 2012), a clear policy on support for the holistic well-being of conflict-affected children is fundamental. Along with adults, pupils were forcefully relocated into a new environment where conditions are tough. Besides their marred history or lost aspects of their childhood, they still live in make-shift structures in unhealthy conditions with little family sustenance. The conditions increase chances of their exclusion from, and within, education. Short-term commitments by the government soon after violence should have been followed by long-term solutions to overcome the protracted stalemate.

School leadership identified the need for social integration as constrained by government education policies. Existing school stratification and delayed provision of secondary schools for conflict-affected young people predisposed them to not only exclusion in education, but also from becoming productive contributors of their future society. This presented a future risk for social integration and rapid interventions should be put in place to avert a future crisis of what seems 'normal' differentiation. Continued re-marginalisation exposes children to child exploiters who use them to commit violence. Also, school admission policy of specific clientele, e.g. a school for IDPs, should also be discouraged. As evidence showed, this creates risky divisions between IDPs and non-IDPs, with potential stigmatisation of children and their communities.

Peer-connectedness revealed an important organic aspect of promoting inclusive cultures from the pupils' point of view. This showed that pupils are not passive actors in their own learning, and can be agents of transformation if well nurtured. However, rigidity in structures and fearful elements of education were seen to account for their uncertainty about school. For instance, not knowing why they were

taking ‘tests’ before initial admission into this school increased their fear of school. Practitioners should make explicit why certain conventions are followed to avoid deterring or traumatising pupils through such unpopular school cultures.

School leadership policies in Kenya prioritise management of resources (MOE, 2012b; Ayiro, 2014) overlooking the basis of leadership in the welfare of the community. While efficient allocation of resources is critical, neglecting the role of leaders in fostering the social-moral wellbeing of the school community promotes a culture of individualism and detachment. This has the likelihood of distancing the young people from their leaders, especially after turbulent times. As Lodiaga stated (in 3.1.3), Kenyan policy lacks leadership planning for unsettled and unstable situations, in which, as evidence indicated, relations play a key role in moving both leadership and inclusive education forward. This implies the need to tailor leadership preparation programmes to respond to unexpected social challenges and this understanding should be an important factor in selecting school leaders.

Evidence of elements of African heritage in the case study suggested a need to re-think how school leadership policy can incorporate and encourage African values in school leadership. This should entail a critical examination and re-interpretation of current approaches. However, political leaders should be taken to task for marring the image of African leadership.

Leadership rhetoric in scholarship and policy has always elevated school principals as the source of leadership in schools in an almost sacred tone (see TSC 2007; Ayiro, 2014). Whereas the most conventional assumption is that all principals are leaders, that position is not necessarily an attribute of leadership, but of management. In practice, informal leadership may be subtle, unsung or non-imposing, but it exists. It is not only fundamental in moving inclusive education forward, but in linking school and community in day-to-day interactions and agency. Its recognition and appreciation enhances teacher-administrator-pupil relations in favour of shared visions and mission.

### *b) Further Research*

Recent studies in educational leadership have shown much interest in the preparation of school leaders (Kindiki *et al.*, 2008; Jwan and Ong'ondo, 2011; Asuga and Eacott, 2012) however, whether these leaders are well-prepared for turbulent times is still unclear (Ayiro, 2014). Asuga and Eacott's (2012) study argued that the training provided by KESI meets the needs of the government. A critique of the current issues prioritised in these training programs would reveal the extent they go in addressing contemporary concerns, e.g. social justice; violent conflicts; fundamentalism; individualism, critical pedagogy etc.

The issue of managing social-emotional and behavioural challenges amongst the young people after experiences of violence was particularly challenging for school leadership. However, little was noted in terms of engagement with reality, history and tension between communities (after PEV) to reach the root of the conflict. Similar to Barakat *et al.*, (2012) observation, there were no active discussions about PEV or tribal divisions. It would be interesting to analyse the reasons and the impact of this silence in Kenyan schools.

Along the same issue, teachers expressed the difficulties they encountered in using 'talk' as a means to manage behaviour. They mentioned having little or no preparation on how to use non-violent methods with conflict-affected pupils. Since the banning of corporal punishment in Kenya in 2001, it would be important to find out how teachers and school leaders are trained and supported towards non-violent methods of ensuring behaviour consistency.

School leadership practice has been perceived as the monopoly of headteachers in many Kenyan schools. Perhaps, there lacks proper tools to analyse leadership in African schools. Scholars need concerted effort to research towards establishing such tools, casting useful African values into the limelight while responding to today's globalised challenges.

## **7.10 Final Reflections**

This thesis set out to explore the connection between school leadership and inclusive practices in one post-conflict school in Kenya, seeking to understand how explicit and implicit leadership occurred in the lived organisation (Spillane and Coldren, 2011). My interest in the study was founded on my experience as a teacher working with conflict affected children and my subsequent exploration of literature which indicated a dearth of knowledge in this field. I adopted an interpretivist perspective to the study (Creswell, 2007); examining how social actors constructed their reality based on their experiences (Nightingale and Cromby, 2002). I utilised interviews with practitioners, observations of practice, field notes, texts-on-walls and pupils' activities to compile my evidence. Although my intrinsic study presents particularities of the case (Stake, 2003), it also sheds light on an understanding of leadership in post-conflict circumstances. As my evidence demonstrated, while government rhetoric proclaims the need for inclusive education for multiple groups, policies and guidelines were more exclusionary than inclusive in terms of purpose, relevance and outcomes. Also, conformist thinking that perceives leadership in regular Kenyan schools as the monopoly of headteachers, fails to look beneath headteacher's work. This search can reveal the complex network of social and professional networks of leadership, which can be fundamental in identifying and meeting the needs of young people. In conclusion, thinking about school leadership in Kenya along Eurocentric lenses only masks the reality of African heritage in practitioners' day-to-day practices, risking a denial of valuable aspects of community life that could be useful in mediating reconstruction in fragmented post-conflict communities.

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## **APPENDICIES**

### **4.1 SEMI-STRUCTURED OBSERVATION SCHEDULES 2013-2014**

Respondent,

The information gathered in this observation activity will not be used for any other purposes apart from that which regards the research activity undertaken here. All information collected will be stored safely under key and lock in my personal drawer and password controlled computer.

#### **GUIDING IDEAS**

##### **Classroom Visits**

Date:

Class teacher:

Number of pupils:

Classroom sitting arrangements:

General behaviour of teacher towards pupils in terms of inclusion/exclusion practices:

Teacher-pupils interactions in talk/support

Classroom activities and pupils' participation

Peer interactions

##### **School Assemblies/Ceremonies**

Date:

Place:

Attendees:

- Headteacher and teachers' role arrangements and execution
- The interaction between the headteacher and teachers in exercising different roles and responsibilities
- How leadership opportunities/platforms are shared
- The interaction and behaviour of headteacher, teachers and pupils
- How relationships are developed and routines/aspects/tools of practice used to do so

##### **Whole-School Staff Meetings/Small Collaborative Meetings**

Date:

Venue:

Attendants:

Main Agenda:

1. Who is involved in making decisions (and who is not)?
2. How are decisions being reached?
3. What issues are being discussed?
4. What is their relevance to inclusion and retention of pupils?
5. What facilitates or constrains interactive decision-making?

**Thank you very much for allowing me in, to observe your practices!**

## **4.2 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TEACHERS 2013-2014**

### **General opening remark:**

Thank you for accepting to take part in this study. The information you give will not be used for any other purpose apart from that which regards the research activity pursued here. All information collected will be stored safely under key and lock in my personal drawers and password controlled computer and, will not be shared with other participants or non-participants. Your contribution will be anonymised in all my write-up.

1. How do you understand the idea of ‘inclusion in education’ in relation to the pupils in this particular school?

- b) What kinds of needs or concerns do you perceive the pupils as having?
- c) Are there challenges you encounter in ensuring that these pupils’ participate fully in education?

2. In terms of ‘leadership practice,’ in this particular school:

- a) How do you understand it in relation to the inclusion of these children in education?
- b) Would you consider yourself a leader in relation to increasing their participation in education? Why?
- c) Are there ways you interact with colleagues towards promoting the participation of these children?

3. Would you like to tell me more about:-

- a) Some of your individual experiences in working with these children?
- b) What do you see as your major roles in meeting the needs of these children?

### **Closing remark:**

Thank you so much for your participation. Is there anything you would like to clarify or add about your understanding of leadership and inclusive practices in regard to children in your school?

## APPENDIX 4J: EXPRESSION OF INTEREST

Jenestar Wanjiru  
University of Edinburgh  
Moray House School  
Edinburgh- Scotland  
25.3.2013



Nakuru- Kenya.  
Dear Sir,

### **RE: Expression of Interest**

Thank you very much for providing this e-mail address to enable me to contact you.

My name is Jenestar Wanjiru. I am a PhD (Education) student at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland.

After learning about the nature of school you work in, and, the circumstances surrounding many of your pupils, I got very interested in carrying out my study there.

My Project is grounded on a long-term interest in exploring, highlighting and appreciating the efforts invested by school leadership and teachers in responding to the needs of marginalized, excluded or vulnerable children in schools, otherwise commonly understood as Most Vulnerable Children (MVC) in Kenya. As such, I am pursuing this study. I would be very grateful if you allowed me to particularly carry out this project in your school. I am happy to discuss the detail after this initial letter.

My overall interest areas may include but not limited to:

- ways in which school leadership and all other practitioners understand the idea of including Most Vulnerable Children (MVC) in education/schools
- what you and other teachers might see as your role in sustainable inclusion and retention of MVC in your school
- approaches you probably prefer to adopt (as a head teacher) in working with your staff in pursuing inclusion of MVC and responding to their concerns
- the extent of teachers' involvement in pursuing inclusion or responding to MVC concerns
- How these practices have/are potentially helping realize sustainable inclusion and retention of MVC

Your kind response is much awaited as I look forward to working with you.

**Importantly, this research activity will ensure confidentiality and anonymity.**

Yours sincerely,

Jenestar Wanjiru

## APPENDIX 4K: LETTER FOR SEEKING COUNTY CONSENT

Ms Jenestar Wanjiru

University of Edinburgh

Moray House school of Education

Date: 10<sup>th</sup> Sept 2013

The County Education Office

Nakuru- Kenya

Dear sir/madam

**Re: Consent to carry out a research project at [REDACTED] in Nakuru County**

I wish to request your permission to visit [REDACTED] school in the [REDACTED] Zone of the County to carry out a PhD research project. My proposed project seeks to understand what the head teacher and teachers in this school perceive as their leadership role in helping to keep Marginalised and Vulnerable Children (MVC) in school in the long term, and how they pursue their individual or group practices in response to inclusion concerns. Pupils' understanding and experience of their sustained stay in school will also be sought from selected pupils in this school. The project is titled:

Towards sustainable inclusion/retention of marginalised and vulnerable children:  
exploring leadership practices and perspectives in one primary school in Kenya

This project's data is meant for writing up my PhD Thesis, with a possibility for future publication. All information obtained from participants will be treated with uttermost confidentiality and anonymity. Information from individuals will not be shared with other participating or non-participating individuals or used in ways that identify individual contributors. Additionally, the school will not be named or identified in any publications arising from this study. Informed consent will be obtained from each individual before their participation; knowledge on what the project entails being made clear to them beforehand.

I am pursuing this project under the University of Edinburgh. For further information about the project, I can be contacted at +254 722 419 429 or email at [jenestarwanjiru@yahoo.com](mailto:jenestarwanjiru@yahoo.com). If you wish to discuss this project with my supervisors you can contact them at:

Dr Gale Macleod: gale macleod <gale.macleod@ed.ac.uk>

Dr. Gillean McCluskey: gillean mccluskey <gillean.mccluskey@ed.ac.uk>

Dr. Deirdre Torrance: Deirdre Torrance <dtorranc@staffmail.ed.ac.uk>

Attached is my 'Introduction Letter' from the University of Edinburgh.

Your kind consideration in this matter is much appreciated.

Yours sincerely

Jenestar Wanjiru



# CONSENT FROM COUNTY EDUCATION OFFICE

## MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

Telegrams: "EDUCATION", R.V.P.  
Telephone: 051-2216917  
When replying please quote



COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION  
NAKURU COUNTY  
P. O. BOX 259,  
NAKURU.

Ref: No.  
CDE/NKU/GEN/4/1/2/169

1<sup>ST</sup> October, 2013

The Headteacher  
[REDACTED] Primary School  
NAKURU.

**RE: INTRODUCTORY LETTER AND CONSENT FOR PHD RESEARCH**  
**JENESTAR WANJIRU : UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH**

This is to introduce to you Ms Jenestar Wanjiru, a Phd Student of Edinburgh University who is conducting a research on:

Towards sustainable inclusion/retention of marginalized and vulnerable children: Exploring leadership practices and Perspectives in one primary school in Kenya.

Permission is hereby granted for the research. Kindly accord her the necessary support. It is further advised only the bearer of the letter is allowed to conduct the research, and data collected will therefore be limited for the purpose of the research.

The research must be conducted with maximum professional adherence expected in school environment.

GEORGE M. OMTIRI  
FOR: COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION  
NAKURU COUNTY.

## **APPENDIX 4L: CONSENT LETTER FOR HEAD TEACHER & TEACHERS**

**Title of research project:** Towards sustainable inclusion/retention of marginalised and vulnerable children: exploring leadership practices and perspectives in one primary school in Kenya

**Researcher:** Jenestar Wanjiru (University of Edinburgh)

### **The head teacher/teachers**

I am carrying out the above titled research project for my PhD (Education) seeking to understand what you perceive as your individual/group leadership roles in responding to inclusion/retention of MVC in your school, as well as the nature and role of interactions emerging from your practices in pursuing inclusivity. All information collected in this project will be stored under key and lock in my personal drawers and password controlled computer. I will be committed to ensuring that the information you give is not shared with other participants or non-participants, and your contribution will be anonymised in all my write-up. Also, your school will not be named or identified in any publication arising from this project. The recorded tapes will be destroyed at completion of study, whilst anonymised transcripts may be kept for future writing in academic journals. Participation is on voluntary basis and there is freedom of withdrawal if you consider doing so. Your honest and unreserved contribution is highly appreciated.

For more information about this project, I will be visiting the school on 30<sup>th</sup> Sept 2013. I can be contacted on my cell phone, +254 722 419 429 or email: [jenestarwanjiru@yahoo.com](mailto:jenestarwanjiru@yahoo.com). You can also contact my (University of Edinburgh) supervisors at,

Dr Gale Macleod: gale macleod <gale.macleod@ed.ac.uk>

Dr Gillean McCluskey: gillean mccluskey <gillean.mccluskey@ed.ac.uk>

Dr Deirdre Torrance: Deirdre Torrance <dtorranc@staffmail.ed.ac.uk>

### **Your participation**

I am happy to participate in this research project. I understand that this will involve a recorded interview [s] with me about my role and experiences in pursuing inclusion/retention of MVC, and that my words will be used anonymously so that I am not identifiable by others in any way. I also understand that the researcher will not share anything I tell her with other participating or non-participating individuals and that transcribed files will be anonymised. Also, I understand that the information I give is meant for writing up a PhD project and for possible future publication in academic journals. I agree to take part in the study,

**Signature:** ..... **Date:** .....

## **APPENDIX 4M: PARENTS' AND PUPILS' CONSENT**

**Researcher (Mtafiti): Jenestar Wanjiru (University of Edinburgh)**

### **The pupil**

Jenestar has explained to me what her project is about, the reason why she wants to do it and what taking part in it will mean for me. I am happy for Jenestar to use my contribution in writing up her research at the University of Edinburgh and for any other work she intends to do afterwards. I understand that my participation is voluntary and I can withdraw when I feel like doing so. I also understand that what I tell Jenestar will not be shared with other participants or non-participants for example teachers, other pupils not taking part in the activity group or head teacher and my words will not be used in a way that identifies me (English).

Jenestar amenieleza kikamilifu kuhusu mradi huu na sababu zilizompelekea kuufanya. Niko radhi atumie jumbe nitakazotoa katika uandishi wa kazi yake katika Chuo Kikuu cha Edinburgh wakati huu, na kazi za baadaye. Naelewa kwamba uhusika wangu niwakujitolea na kwamba naruhusiwa kujitoa kwenye uhusika nikipenda. Nimefahamishwa pia kwamba habari nitoazo hazitatumiwa kwa njia ya kunitambulisha kwa namna yoyote kwa yeyote yule, na jumbe zote zitahifadhiwa kwa usiri na kutokutambulisha (Kiswahili)

I am happy..... to take part  
take part

I am not happy..... to

Nafurahia kushiriki

Singependa kushiriki

(Draw a happy face or sad face as appropriate) (Chora uso wenye furaha au wenye huzuni kama ifaavyo)

### **To the parent**

I am doing a research project seeking to find out how pupils understand and experience their day-to-day inclusion and retention in their school. A group of children, including your child, will be invited to tell their stories about their on-going inclusion/retention for this project. All the information your child gives will be securely stored and treated with confidence (not shared with others) and will not be used in a manner that identifies him/her in any way. This contribution will be used anonymously mainly for writing up my PhD work and possibly, future publication in academic journals.

In order for your child to take part in this project, I am requesting your consent. Your child will also tell you more about her/his participation through an information sheet given to him/her to carry home. If you are happy for your child to take part, you do not need to reply to this letter. If I do not hear from you by 15<sup>th</sup> October 2013, I will assume that your child can participate. If otherwise, please return this letter by putting a circle around this 'NO'

For more about the project, I will be at your School on 30<sup>th</sup> September 2013 and I can be contacted in this school from October-November. My number is 0722 419 429.

Yours sincerely,

Jenestar Wanjiru

## APPENDIX 4N: PUPILS' INFORMATION SHEET



My name is Jenestar.

I am a student at the University of Edinburgh. I am inviting you to take part in this study. Several activities for example, story-writing, drawing and role-playing will be done. These activities will be about telling your stories on:

- How you think about the idea of joining and participating in education continually
- The people [teachers] who you think make you really like coming to school every day
- The things that these people [teachers] do for you or with you, to make you really like coming to school
- Your general experiences and opinions about being in this school continually

All these activities will allow you to freely express yourself, and I will assist you if you have any difficulties in writing or saying it in English. You may use Kiswahili to express yourself if you like.

**Looking forward to working with you!**

## APPENDIX 4P: STATEMENTS CONFIRMING INFORMED PARTICIPATION

### Consent to take part in the research project (Head/teachers)

Title: Towards sustainable inclusion/retention of MVC: exploring leadership practices and perspectives in one school in Kenya

Please put a tick to indicate that you are well informed of the following aspects of your participation and that you agree to take part in the mentioned project

Statements of information	Tick (✓)
I have been made to understand all what the project is about	
I am to participate on voluntary basis	
My identity will be anonymised during the project period as well as in any publication arising from this study	
What I say to Jenestar will not be shared with any other person; participants or non-participants	
The information I give to Jenestar will be used for writing up her PhD study with possibility for future publication in academic journals	
I can opt out if I desire to do so	

I agree to take part in this study.....  
Date.....

## DATA ANALYSIS: APPENDIX 4A

Teachers Table 2a: Key Impressions from Raw Data

<b>Pupils or school background</b> <u>Teachers</u>	<b>Inclusion meant:</b> <u>Teachers</u>	<b>Understanding leadership</b> [FOR?] <u>Teachers</u>	<b>Leadership practice:</b> [WHO/HOW?] <u>Teachers</u>	<b>Roles for leaders</b> <u>Teachers</u> [WHAT?]
IDP camp	Equal chances to school	Administration	HT; Deputy; ST; C/Ts all teachers	Know/understand pupils and connect with community
Few non-camp	Enrol, appropriate placement & access same curriculum	Supervising	Shared decision making (clusters)	Working within local & broader Policies
Destabilised homes	Learning together- [ages, abilities, backgrounds]	Facilitating	Assigned responsibilities (chart)	Avoid exclusions [Sch. Policy]
Orphanage	Supportive/friendly classrooms/school	Inspiring	'Office allowed decision-making [parameters]	Avoid corporal punishments & Reinforce 'Talk'
Street	Belonging to broader society	For directing objectives	Activity groups	Foster accessible communication [language policy]
Poverty cases	Not secluded or intimidated; same treatment with advantaged ones	Role modelling	Whole-school problem solving (Staff meetings)	Belonging; Integrate IDPs and non-IDPs
Traumatised	School for poor	Encouraging	Mutual /Reciprocal support: Dyads; Triads; work clusters	Foster and role model core values
Violence-prone	Accept pupils from all backgrounds	Guiding	Everybody, everywhere [Jo], all the time [Gean] all people [Roda; Martha; deputy]	Restore relations; esteem and hope
Home-school disconnect	Integrate IDPs & non-IDPs [one sch.]	Stewarding		Follow-up till home
Home-school connection	Retain pupils	Caring		High expectations [school to watch]
<b>School</b>	Enhance C/room participation	Supporting others		<b>*Future Outlook:</b>
For IDPs and the poor	Recognise issues & support them	Showing kindness		Transitions to secondary schools
By NGO	Breaking poverty	Self-directed for positive change		<u>Pupils perceptions</u>
Government owned	<u>Pupils perceptions</u>	<b>CONCERNS</b>		<b>Developing:</b>
Nakuru county	Coming to school	Challenging school relations		Responsibility and ownership of school
<u>Pupils perceptions</u>	Being accepted	Tensions in group leadership		Predictable school & schooling
IDP camp	Feeling secure	Constraining structures/systems		Peer support
Non-camp	Doing/passing tests	Dilemmas on discipline: maize, windows		Secure school
(Vern/Noah)	Grade/social mobility;	Examinations versus well-being	<b>*Team-building leadership</b>	Value system
Home concerns	Respectability [future]	Core values	Advocacy and building hope	Good relations
(Peter/ Isabela)				

NB: Data obtained from interviews, observations, texts-on-walls, field notes and pupils' activities

Table 2b: Approaches to School Leadership Practice in This Post-Conflict School

Participant	Leadership (what for?)	Who and How	Themes
<b>Headteacher</b>	To facilitate learning and inspire children. All teachers role-modelling	Administration, C/teachers, all teachers. Problem Solving [PS] is collective	<b>Who leads?</b> Shared
<b>Deputy</b>	To direct school activities in order, having good relations and meeting the schools' objectives; role-modelling; with values	Administrative, Supervisory C/teachers, all teachers PS: networking; talking with teachers; teachers' freedom with parameters	
<b>S/teacher</b>	For showing, guiding and being a role model in everything towards worthwhile ends	Administration and teachers PS: Consensus & linking up	<b>How?</b> Hierarchical Licenced Interactive
<b>Martha</b>	For encouraging and role modelling ways of living together and showcasing values Promoting togetherness, recognition	HT, assigned roles & all teachers. PS: Bigger issues for office; other issues amongst us [interactive]	
<b>Jo</b>	Being caring, supportive and an example to be seen by all	HT and all teachers everywhere, every time. PS: share with colleagues; communal; office allows class-level or personal solutions.	<b>What for?</b> <b>Role modelling</b> -Guiding -Facilitating -inspiring -Stewarding <b>Relationships</b> -Caring - Togetherness -Supporting -Encouraging -Cultivating virtues
<b>Jess</b>	Guiding and supporting others to reach their goals; Being responsible & can be emulated	HT, assigned teachers and others. PS: with colleagues first then office for issues beyond limit	
<b>Roda</b>	Guiding others towards a future, being a role model; stewardship	Administration, assigned or all teachers supporting children differently. PS: connect for knowledge with colleagues. Office for issues beyond you	<b>Nature?</b> Value-laden
<b>Tina</b>	Role-modelling- Doing what you expect of others. Being supportive	-Anyone can lead PS: Support across grades or Personal decisions	
<b>Gean</b>	Caring for pupils and people who work here; extending kindness	Leadership everywhere in this school. HT, DT, ST, all teachers Sharing and consensus	

Table 2c: Challenges and Roles for School Leadership

	<b>(B) NEEDS &amp; CONCERNS</b>	<b>A) ROLES FOR SCHOOL LEADERS</b>				
	<b>Household disruptions impeding Access</b>	<b>Knowing pupils &amp; their backgrounds</b> -By conducting small researches -Understanding pupils as individuals -Talking to long-serving colleagues -Understand home background /visiting camp	<b>Implementing policies on:</b> -KESSP 1 & 2 on inclusion, equity & quality -Shaping Language policy [at school] -Sensitivity to corporal punishment -Integration of IDPs and non-IDPs	<b>Social, moral, emotional learning and healing</b>	<b>Restoring relationships (Acceptance)</b>	<b>Reconstructing learning cultures</b>
	<b>Negotiating Policies and guidelines</b>	<b>Design Responsive programs</b> Aspects reinforcing inclusivity -Pastoral care; joint assembly -Guidance/counselling-Talk -Link pupils with outside world [exposure] -School meetings for parents				<b>Negotiating history, present and future</b>
		<b>Relationships/interaction -Belongingness</b> Step-in care-giving & affection -Be positive on pupils change -Encourage; Talk; Focusing on future -Teacher-pupil rapport -Foster peer-group support; togetherness				
		<b>Classroom pedagogy/practices</b> -Good planning of work; Interactive classes; multiple learning tasks; group support; integration of home and school issues; catch-up sessions				
		<b>Mediating moral values</b> unlearn violence; manage behavioural difficulties; construct shared values; group socialisation; values				
HT	-Every average teacher understands the categories of children here -We induct new teachers on the pupils' needs	-KESSP 1 (numbers) &-KESSP 2 (quality) -Equality & equity	-Proactive inclusion: admission; placement;	-Teachers as surrogate parents -Professional parents	-First hand quality assurance officer -Support teachers in c/rooms	<b>USING</b> core values  mission
DT	-Know pupils first -Did my research on fighting-why? -Know their homes	-Language policy in school [multi tribes]	-Assembly together -Music/drama festivals to meet others out there	-Reinforce inclusivity activities -exposure trips	<b>3-5</b> minutes talk before learning	discipline Fighting Blood shedding and injuries
S/T	-Know your pupils, understand where they are coming	-HT talks of policies e.g. pupils' participation in learning,	-Guidance and counselling; Any time is guidance time -We have	-Give hope for future -talk of importance of education, can	-I integrate curriculum topics with real life issues [e.g.	-they know drugs; Alcohol



	from -Take each child individually -Have awareness of sensitive cases	no levies, no sending them home; no corporal pun., Kids get it at home, avoid at school	parents educative meetings	change destiny -Don't be harsh with pupils, be sensitive, bring them close to you	camp life]	-Teach them to respect others' properties
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This is an extract of Table 2c. These themes were developed and summarised from data reduction Table 2c, which contained thick descriptions from data as obtained from each participant's views, classroom and school level observations, texts-on-walls and field notes. Data extracts were entered under the headings on columns (A) above; alongside the nine (9) participating teachers in rows (e.g. HT, Dep., S/T). These were then compared horizontally and vertically before condensing and assigning them labels shown under column (A) above. The issues in (A) were then interpreted into themes indicated on the top columns under (B).

Table 2d: Key Issues on leadership by administrators

<b>Admin</b>	<b>Working with Donors</b>	<b>Role of practitioners' interactions - administrators perspectives</b>
<b>HT</b>	-Secure instructional materials with donor funds (new Class five) -Link GOK, NGO, Parents and school towards inclusion <u><b>Other issues</b></u> -Parents desire to control class allocations	-To Learn and support kids & colleagues -Consensus -Share concerns [pupils to know we support them together] -Teachers know pupils better; and are part and parcel of pupils' lives in and outside school -Connect tr. leadership to administrative one
<b>DT</b>	-Advice donors on needs e.g. -Influence their priorities e.g. meals first before uniform -Demographic changes 'One community school' -advice on Support staff <u><b>Others issues</b></u> -tribal affiliations and school enrolments -parents owning the school even wanting to decide which teachers should work here	-Share/distribute responsibilities -Track attendance -Finding common 'way-forwards' e.g. discipline -Support one another-case of tr. Jo [I and HT stood our ground]
<b>ST</b>	-School uniform issues: convince parents. They do not seem to understand -Adm. should not be over-strict; kids will run away for fear	-Learn a lot from each other -going to a child with same message, fairness -supporting a child from all sides[including from home]

		-Having a colleague to listen to you. You share issues
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## Dilemmas and complex issues

1. DT1 initially presenting teachers as not problematic especially in leading and managing class-related issues- “they don’t have to bring all cases to the office, they do these amongst their class-levels”; HT adds “ we don’t have any problems with teachers when it comes to implementation of curriculum issues... but with demands from sponsor activities.” Here; though helpful to the school, sponsors seemingly create pressure on teachers resulting in tensions. For the DT, during a later interview, leadership becomes challenging especially when teachers think that they are ‘doing it’ for sponsors or taking ‘administrative responsibilities.’ **Implication:** teachers preferred their class-level leadership and not administrative responsibilities.
2. Although the government plans to resettle families to some proposed locations, for many families, this is not feasible; many children might not afford schooling once relocated. Here, they get extra support due to sponsorship [DT]
3. By children living with their parents, their emotional, social and physical well-being is nurtured. But some parents have to be away searching for livelihoods in the countryside (shamba) leaving children with relatives or friends. While staying behind promotes retention rates in this school absence of parents is allegedly counterproductive [HT and teachers]
4. Parents are committed to their children’s schooling because they come to school when *something bad happens* to their children especially illness [HT], Tina and Jess say that some parents do not support teachers especially when requested to visit to discuss pupils concern, they even send their children back to the teachers when pupils are ill.
5. “*This is now the school to watch*” in terms of academic performance [HT], the children have really improved academically. We start with **discipline** then **academics**[Jess and DT]
6. The lady teachers they had from the beginning were very motherly; we started seeing lots of fighting amongst kids, we had to sit and agree on discipline measures besides motherliness [DT]
7. Being an administrator like HT or Deputy, children would fear being asked to see you, they see like I will be ‘killed’. Here, don’t be harsh, love them and see them as individuals [ST]
8. Language policy in school pursues unity of diversity; to avoid tribalism especially for those with no tribe mate, but limits linguistic identity

9. Corporal punishment is avoided in this school though other schools do it (DT), we talk to kids, but some take advantage of this because they know they will not be beaten (Jess).
10. Inclusion of over-age learners in upper classes [some from orphanage come with no basic skills –they fail entry interviews]. This brings the class mean score down yet teachers are compared for awarding bonuses-very frustrating [ST]
11. Sometimes there is so much expectations for us. The government expects you to perform, the sponsor doesn't understand your challenges ['mean score' verses 'every child in class'] (ST) Jess: We are not pressured on mean scores [by headteacher?], We work at our own class pace... then as a teacher, you work to ensure your class performs well
12. Teachers themselves experience a level of hardship individually or as groups; every average teachers knows the categories of children present here. Knowing children enables them to have the psychological preparedness
13. Delay of FPE funds is covered by STC funds. HT, DT and teachers prioritise needs for funds given
14. School uniform issue: parents think the administration is behind the stopping of uniform provision or parents do not understand the changes?
15. The 'devolution' ghost... parents want 'one community school', the government [national goals of education] seeks ethnic co-existence. IDP pupils' 'isolation' calls for Integration.

### The Teacher-Parents Dilemmas/Issues

Most pupils do not leave with their own parents because:

- Some live in the orphanage (20%); although some have parents living in the camp or elsewhere
- Parents mobility in the camp: they relocate to their 'shambas' for subsistence farming
- Some parents are busy doing menial jobs as and when they become available
- Some parents [those not committed] argue that "there is everything at school" (Jess, Martha)

## APPENDIX 4A: PUPILS' DATA

### Activity 1: Write-Ups

Table 3a: Meaning of being in school: General Impressions/experiences

	Pupil	Meaning of school/ education	General impressions and experiences
1	Shem	-Being happy with friends -there are lessons to help pupils' behaviour	-to live well with others -Teacher personal support- teaches us like her own children -Placement (happy about the class I joined); exam for transition I like playing football PET teachers gives me pen when mine gets lost
2	Deric	-get education towards altruism [help those under-educated; the sick who die prematurely] -To learn social virtues; good social relations [adabu] Future respectability	-Warm reception -Acceptance by teachers and others -Class allocation by HT/CT -Felt happy to belong here -Great love from all -Joined the appropriate class
3	Dan	Get a job; Towards Altruism [relatives & those with disability; those with problems] to understand myself (Self-awareness)	Classmates & teachers warm welcome Good to know that everybody was helping me to build my future. When I saw people loved me...I continued with school I was full of joy CT encouraged me to fulfil my dreams
4	Noah	Getting knowledge about many things [knowledgeable] Education for good future	Peer/friends encouragement to remain in school Positive school image presented by school leaders-performance, cleanliness, behaviour To join this school, I did exam and passed HT took me to class, gave me good uniform I like playing football and dancing very much Taught how to read, write and behave towards others
5	Isabella	Get education for life Construct my life Get good job (future happiness)	Examination for transition No school near us, (exclusion before joining here) Provisions made it easy for me to join I have many <b>personal problems</b> -but I still come There are many school programs in our school (participation) Teacher's positive relation- she tells me to come even if you have problems.' We Learn life skills
6	Zippie	-I need success in life -a better future -School shapes my dreams and aspirations	Warm welcome by teachers, CT happy to have me in her class Exam at entry; passed, had a dream; shared with parents-happy Good result- praised by HT/DT/ST Teachers insist on love for others

7	Joan	Entry- meant a chance to good education Get education for independence; Job in future Altruism [help relatives] Education is key to my future We are taught to love all	Initial difficulty in accessing this school Did entry test-anxious (my mum too). I know I'm allowed to come into this school Very warm reception-felt accepted Taught Citizenship; good behaviours, love for all Exams-for transition (I work hard) Household hardship- <i>couldn't afford uniform and other things</i> My parents encourage me; supportive teachers Participation in singing, dancing, reading/writing <b>I passed my exams and was allowed into this school</b>
8	Shaline	Get a job Altruism [help family, others in need-just as I have been helped] Make my future bright	Good relations at school-HT insists on love for all Warm welcome Supportive teachers- rapport, life stories, focus; hope; friendly Participate in school festivals-makes me like school; developing my talent
9	Peter	Learning; be knowledgeable in many things Learn so much-be a doctor Goodwill (treat and help the sick)	<b>My problem:-</b> parents say don't go to school* Friends ask me to come to school daily I Like Deputy, he ensures we behave well - punishment when we misbehave. On arrival, we learnt many things about our school Participation-football, rope skipping and eating lunch School changeover- Very happy to be in this new school I'm helped to know how to read and write
10	Jey	Get education to shape my future To get a good future Support my family	Good interrelations in this school: <b>no enemies</b> , love, acceptance by all; but some pupils disturb. Teachers insist on kindness towards others Initially 'fearful, frightened, ashamed,' now I feel free Provisions made it possible to be here
11	Foska	Get education Get a job Support family and relatives To learn good behaviours Fit in future social group (if I don't work hard, friends will be better than me)	Warm reception by HT Was accepted, <b>allowed</b> to join this school Teachers ask us to encourage peers to school My peers support me not to leave school Taught virtues-kindness, honesty Teachers pursue interrelations (don't fight) We have rules on walls
12	Vern	Prepare for my future life. "if education is life, then I'm encouraged" Don't want to be a 'beba' Altruism [help the needy-treat the sick]	Friends encourage me Supportive parents/siblings Provisions enable schooling School environment and people are very good HT does counselling/guidance, very helpful- I love our headteacher
13	John	To be respectable in future We are taught to understand others	Test for entry (class allocation) Shown love by everybody here- I was happy to be here Taught virtues, interrelations, respect for all (adabu) Pastoral lessons: for hope and love for one another A few pupils like insulting/fighting-this is

			wrong in our school CT monitors my feeding- ensures I eat
14	Felista	Education for a job in future I have developed my talent (comedy)	Warm welcome/acceptance Recognition of talent-comics; poems Attendance makes me pass exams Rapport with teachers [teacher tells us her life stories] Hope building Living together and environmental hygiene
15	Sinbad	Get education Recognition and developing my capabilities	Very generous CT, loving HT is my friend, he tells everybody about it Medical support; help when you get hurt Recognition of talent-football, Artistic (drawing) We are given food
16	Joy	Get education Change my life, have a good future We are taught respect	Good welcome by all teachers and visitors. First day- seeing around the school. Told to work hard and love others Placement by CT Provisions made it easy; medical support and follow-up Teachers encourage us to own our school & love one another & being responsible. Teachers gave us hope- to be doctors, police, etc.

### *Interesting ideas*

- Children desire to support the disadvantaged people.
- Peter says his parents ask him not to go to school- that friends encourage him every morning to carry on- why? Isabella mentions her many personal problems that make her schooling difficult- she is sickly, but still encouraged to carry on.
- Felista likes comics, yet noted as experiencing worrying emotional and behavioural difficulties
- Jey says she has no enemies in this school, initially frightened and timid... now she is free and belonging- why?
- Exams/tests are referenced in two ways: 'a scare' and 'booster' for working hard- what is going on here?
- Derick emphasises joining the 'appropriate' class, Shem says he passed exams that's why he is now in class four- what is it about exams?
- Joan and Foska say they knew they were 'allowed' to join this school- were there restrictions?
- Many pupils mention HT in relation to values- what does he stand for?
- Children talk of love. Dan says he liked school when he felt loved by many people who wanted to "help him build his future"- why the need for affection?

Table 3b: How practitioners made pupils really like coming to school [Act. 1]

Pupils	Teachers mentioned	Teachers' support/encouragement
Shem	CT GT TOD PT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CT-teaches us very well as if we are her own children [<i>relations</i>]</li> <li>TOD tells us not to hurt others when playing [<i>peer relations</i>]</li> <li>PET- gives me a pen if mine is lost, he makes like school; insists pupils should not hurt others e.g. going for lunch [<i>relations; provisions</i>]</li> <li>Pastoral lessons shape pupils behaviour really well [<i>behaviour</i>]</li> </ul>
Deric	CT Teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CT welcomed me in class; teachers happy to see me joining them, CT allocated me appropriate class. They showed me <b>great love</b> [<i>good reception-belonging</i>]</li> <li>Learning about respect for others (Adabu) [<i>values</i>]</li> </ul>
Dan	HT CTx4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CT-when we are fighting, he teaches us behaviour and how to understand others [<i>morals/values; problem-solving</i>]</li> <li>CT &amp; HT encourage me not to miss out school [<i>persistence</i>]</li> <li>Encourage us to learn in order to fulfil our dreams [<i>motivation</i>]</li> <li>Encourages us to help those in need (<i>altruism</i>)</li> </ul>
Noah	HT DT ST CT Teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Teachers encourage me to come to school daily [<i>persistence</i>]</li> <li>HT allocated me a class and found me a sponsor [<i>placement; provisions</i>]</li> <li>HT, ST, DT, CT talked many good things about the school like performance, behaviour, school property, cleanness. I said my dreams/hopes have come true [<i>good school image; values, responsibility; academic focus</i>]</li> </ul>
Isabela	CT HT Teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>HT tells me to work hard for my future [<i>focusing</i>]</li> <li>CT teaches us life skills to prepare ourselves; encourages me to come to school even when I have problems; she solves the problems; encourages me to do duties at school [<i>life skills; persistence; responsive; responsibility</i>]</li> <li>GT: we go for games- I enjoy [<i>participation</i>]</li> </ul>
Zippy	HT DT TOD CT PT ST	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CT welcomed me in this school; gave me books [<i>good reception; provisions</i>]</li> <li>HT, DT, ST were excited when I became number two in exams. They told me I could be a doctor in future [<i>appreciating effort; focusing-inspiring; exams</i>]</li> <li>TOD reminds us to come to school every day [<i>persistence</i>]</li> <li>PT asks us to live well with others and love everybody [<i>harmony, values, peer relations</i>]</li> </ul>
Joan	CT, Teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CT is a wonderful person; encourages me to be a good person in our country in future [<i>rapport, good citizenship/ values</i>]</li> <li>We are taught good behaviours by teachers [<i>morals/values</i>]</li> <li>I do dancing and singing with CT [<i>co-curricular activities</i>]</li> </ul>
Shaline	CT PT HT DT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>HT tells us to love one another [<i>relations/ values</i>]</li> <li>CT tells us about her life and that God will help us in ours; we talk about life, that it's very hard without education [<i>focusing, persistence; hope</i>]</li> <li>PT tells good stories wearing a smiling face [<i>warmth/rapport</i>]</li> <li>I like music going for festivals [<i>co-curricular activities</i>]</li> <li>DT encourages me to move on [<i>persistence</i>]</li> </ul>

Peter	DT HT CT Teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>HT &amp;DT tell me to come to school every day [<i>persistence</i>]</li> <li>CT helps me to know how to read, write and know many things [<i>supportive teaching</i>]</li> <li>Teachers punish those children who <b>misbehave</b> [<i>discipline/morals</i>]</li> </ul>
Jey	CT Teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CT tells me to come to school every day to be educated [<i>persistence/focusing</i>]</li> <li>I feared teachers and pupils initially. I now freely interact with all teachers and pupils- no enemies [<i>belonging, secure; settled</i>]</li> <li>Teachers tell me to learn for my future [<i>focusing; hope</i>]</li> </ul>
Foska	HT/RET DT TOD PT CT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>HT welcomed me to this school [<i>good reception</i>]</li> <li>HT, DT, CT, ST encourage me to come to school daily [<i>persistence</i>]</li> <li>HT/RT encourages me to be generous, kind and honest, he is a very good HT, we agree with him [<i>values/rapport/relations</i>]</li> <li>HT teaches us well [<i>good teaching</i>]</li> <li>DT helps in solving problems/fights/cases; We have rules on the wall [<i>problem-solving; discipline &amp; rules</i>]</li> </ul>
Vern	HT Teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>HT gave me a good uniform [<i>provisions</i>]</li> <li>Teachers show us how to take care of school [<i>responsibility</i>]</li> <li>I like the teachers, pupils, trees and flowers [<i>good school climate</i>]</li> </ul>
John	CT DT HT GT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CT gave me uniform, shoes, bag...; CT makes sure I take lunch, she says health is important [<i>provisions; caring for wellbeing</i>]</li> <li>DT says we should behave well [<i>discipline/morals</i>]</li> <li>GT: we play good games [<i>co-curricular activities</i>]</li> <li>PT tells us Bible stories make people love one another [<i>values</i>]</li> </ul>
Felista	CT TOD Teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CT likes giving me advice; tells us stories about her life for us to see we can also make it [<i>focusing; inspiring</i>]</li> <li>TOD says we love one another &amp; keep school clean [<i>relations; responsibility</i>]</li> <li>The HT found me a sponsor [<i>provisions</i>]</li> <li>Teachers and pupils noticed my talents [<i>recognition of capabilities; esteem</i>]</li> </ul>
Sinbad	CT HT GT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CT was very generous to me, she loved me very much [<i>care/values</i>]</li> <li>CT said I was her good artist [<i>capabilities/esteem</i>]</li> <li>HT tells pupils in class that I am his good friend [<i>rapport/relations</i>]</li> <li>GT/PE asks me to write names of other players [<i>team leader</i>] I like football [<i>responsibility, capabilities/esteem</i>]</li> <li>Sometimes I am taken for clinics [<i>medical care</i>]</li> </ul>
Joy	CT x4 Teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>CT welcomed me warmly in class, showed me where to sit; when my dress is torn, she sees that it is replaced at the store to avoid embarrassment [<i>care, concern, belonging</i>]</li> <li>CT asks me to go to the hospital when I am unwell [<i>cares; medical attention</i>]</li> <li>CT says I should not fight, be good, and love others [<i>relations/values</i>]</li> <li>She asks us to make queues when going for lunch and wash our plates after eating [<i>order/ responsibility</i>]</li> </ul>



## Activity 2: Spider Diagrams

Table 3c: All Responses from Spider Diagrams: How Teachers Made Pupils Really Like Coming to School

Pupil	Teachers mentioned
Shem	<p>HT: He says don't do bad things to others <i>[peer relations]</i></p> <p>CT: Happy with me <i>[relational interaction]</i></p> <p>PT: Teaches good behaviour; helps when I'm in problems <i>[behaviour, supportive]</i></p> <p>LT: tells us good stories to motivate us; she makes sure we eat <i>[motivates; health]</i></p> <p>ST: shows me how to do my work <i>[learning support]</i></p>
Deric	<p>CT: When I do bad things he disciplines me <i>[behaviour, correction]</i></p> <p>PT: Encourages me to come to school every day to be successful in future <i>[focusing]</i></p> <p>HT: Tells me to work hard to have a good future <i>[focusing/inspiring]</i></p> <p>DT: When we have a problem he solves it <i>[responsive]</i></p> <p>LT: When I have difficult work she helps me do it <i>[supportive]</i></p> <p>LTT: She makes sure that I eat <i>[minds health]</i></p>
Dan	<p>DT: Tells me to be honest <i>[values]</i></p> <p>CT: Encourage me to be pilot <i>[inspiring]</i></p> <p>LT: We read story books, gives me more story books <i>[supportive]</i>; tells me to learn to be respectable <i>[virtues]</i></p> <p>ST: Teaches me how to behave well <i>[behaviour]</i></p> <p>PET: Encourages me to participate in class <i>[engaging]</i></p>
Noah	<p>CT: tells me I'm best in CA; encourages me about this school; advice on how to pass exams <i>[academic advice]</i></p> <p>ST: Teaches me about life; to obey laws and rules; I must try my best in science <i>[life skills, citizenship]</i></p> <p>PET: Sings and dances with us happy songs <i>[fun]</i></p> <p>DT: Encourages us to be clean <i>[keeping healthy]</i></p> <p>LT: Tells me us many good stories <i>[support an fun]</i></p>
Isabela	<p>LT: helps me in reading; tells funny stories, teaches songs for festivals <i>[supportive, fun, abilities]</i></p> <p>HT: Says we love others; help one another; do work together; to be unselfish <i>[care/relations]</i></p> <p>DT: Solving our problems when people fight <i>[responsive]</i></p> <p>CT: encourage me to work hard to get a job <i>[focusing/inspiring]</i></p> <p>LTT: makes sure all people eat, nobody misses food <i>[keeping healthy]</i></p>
Zippy	<p>HT: Encourage me to have good manners; tell us love one another <i>[relations]</i></p> <p>ST: Discipline me to be a good girl, patient and caring; to follow instructions and country laws <i>[values; citizenship]</i>,</p> <p>CT: tells us to work very hard; tells me I will be doctor <i>[focusing/inspiring]</i></p> <p>PT: she corrects my problems [mistakes]; always tells me that I'm not a fearful girl <i>[responsive; builds confidence]</i></p> <p>PET: He makes me laugh all the time; likes doing funny things <i>[fun]</i></p>
Joan	<p>LT: <i>Reading with us</i>; making fun; teaching me how to read <i>[supportive, fun]</i></p> <p>CT: Discipliner and encourager; calls me a doctor; says I will grow up to be a respectable person <i>[behaviour, inspiring, peer support]</i></p> <p>DT: Helping me in Maths <i>[supportive]</i></p> <p>HT: Reminds us to care for others <i>[peer relations]</i></p> <p>LTT: For food <i>[health]</i></p>
Shaline	<p>CT: Tells us that Jesus loves us <i>[pastoral care]</i></p> <p>DT: solves my problems e.g. when I lose a book; calls me doctor, says I'm good at science <i>[responsive, inspiring, praise]</i></p> <p>LT: She asks me to help other pupils who cannot read, I help them and they know how to read <i>[peer support]</i></p> <p>PT: Calls me musician <i>[recognition of abilities]</i></p>

	PET: Tells stories of his life to encourage us <i>[inspire/life skills]</i>
Peter	PET: We have fun and songs running in the field <i>[fun and games]</i> CT: helps me to have good discipline; tells me to help one another <i>[behaviour, values]</i> PT: He tells me the word of God for hope in future <i>[building hope]</i> DT: encourages me to come to school to succeed; tells us not to fight in school, to be caring <i>[hope/relations]</i> ST: Solves my problems says I can be big person in future <i>[supportive, inspiring]</i>
Jey	PET: Encourage me to play so that I cannot grow old quickly; to be a good pupil <i>[keeping healthy]</i> CT: Tells me I will be a captain <i>[focusing/inspiring]</i> ; usually tells us to come early in the morning to discuss work together <i>[learning together-peer support]</i> LT: Usually tells me if I eat more food I will grow stronger; gives me good story books <i>[health, supportive]</i> PT: tells me that God loves me ST: Says if I come to school every day I will become a better person <i>[encouraging resilience]</i> HT: Says that by coming to school we will help ourselves in the future; and by coming to school early we will learn more <i>[inspiring/ focus on future]</i>
Foska	LT: helps me to have direction <i>[guidance]</i> PET: We do singing and running, it's fun <i>[games with fun]</i> CT: encourages me to come to school. we do poems for festivals; not to leave school, to have education and my future can be bright <i>[abilities, focusing]</i> HT: Solves my problems <i>[responsive]</i> ST: To obey the law <i>[citizenship]</i> ; tells me to put more effort <i>[focusing]</i>
Vern	CT: helps me when in difficult issues <i>[responsive/supportive]</i> HT: He asks that we come to school early and support one another <i>[learning together]</i> LT: She tells us stories and gives us questions <i>[T/L]</i> ST: She helps me when I have my problems <i>[caring]</i> LTT: for food
John	ST: Obey law in your country <i>[citizenship]</i> CT: Teaches discipline <i>[behaviour]</i> LT: Reading story books together <i>[supportive, learning together]</i> DT: Growing plants ,Trees <i>[outdoors]</i> HT: Tells me to behave well, and be honest <i>[behaviour, virtues]</i>
Felista	CT: Helps me to understand that though I am small today, [tells me what] to do to be a successful adult <i>[inspiring/guiding]</i> LT: encourages us to come to school early and read more stories <i>[learning cultures]</i> PET: We do gymnastics and soccer, have fun <i>[games and fun]</i> HT: Teaches me CRE, to be unselfish <i>[peer relations]</i> LLT: Explains to me how to be organised, have food <i>[order, health]</i> DT: To have <i>best behaviour</i> , to be <i>focused</i>
Sinbad	CT: She helps me in things to do with my education and life <i>[learning support/caring]</i> PET: Fun in games <i>[fun]</i> PT: Teaches me about Jesus, that He has power over nature <i>[pastoral care]</i> HT: helps me to be a good pupil <i>[learning well, values]</i> DT: Encourages me to be a pilot <i>[inspiring]</i> Maths teacher: she tells me I am a good person <i>[praise]</i>
Joy	CT: asks us about our lives at home, if we have eaten <i>[wellbeing]</i> DT: don't follow strangers, they can mislead you <i>[advice]</i> tells us to use school property in good ways <i>[responsibility]</i> HT: Teaches us to trust and have hope in God, to <b>respect parents, and all workers</b> in our school <i>[hope/relations]</i> LT: Gives us story books , we enjoy, fun <i>[ learning cultures, reading fun]</i> PET: we go out to play, running and skipping- I like it very much <i>[outdoor fun]</i>

Table 3d: Interactions with Headteacher and Teachers

	Building a value system		Learning and participation		Friendly, Supportive Relationships			Provisions	
	Mentions of Values & behaviour- love, respect, care honesty, manners, work hard; discipline; understanding others; no fights; behaviour	Nurturing peer relations: insisting on harmony, helping and loving others; acceptance, belonging	Professional practices: good teaching, class allocations, professional advice, warm classroom practices	Recognition and nurturing abilities: talents, skills, 'special likes'	Rapport: friendly, warm, parent like, talks, solves my problems	Boost morale Supportive gestures	Focusing: how to pass; to succeed; advice about future; group studies	Provisions-materials	Sponsors
Shem	√	Don't hurt others	Good teaching <i>CT always happy with me</i>	F/ball	Friendly HT Friendly PE teacher	Supportive PE Tr. gives me pen when I lose mine	√		√
Deric	√	Respecting others	Appropriate class <i>Supported with hard work [ LT]</i>	-	Friendly teachers, People Solves my problems		√	-	-
Dan	√	Understand others	- We read story books, LT gives me more, participate in class	Fulfil life dreams	-people helping me build my future	All help build my future	√		
Noah	√	Share school things	Good teaching Allocated class; how they pass exams; reading support	Dance F/ball Best in C/A	Talk/teaches about my life	Good school image	√	√	√
Isabela	√	Help others	Good advice & Support in reading	Music Singing	We have talks to solve problems	Do duties Risk aware	√	√	√

						ess			
Zippy	√	Live well with others	Praised for good performance	No.2 Trs. Excited for me	About my dream-calls me doctor	Bright in science [doctor]	√	-	-
Joan	√	Be good to others Care	I'm supported in maths LT reads with us	Dance & songs	-	Good citizen	√	√	√
Shaline	√	Love one another Help less-able readers	-DT teaches science very well	Music festivals Calls me Musician	We talk about life Solves my problems	-Life without educ. is hard -Tells stories of his life	√	√	√
Peter	√	Help one another	Good teaching	F/ball		-	√	√	√
Jey	√	Help others	Given storybooks to read a lot	-	Free interaction	-	√	√	√
Foska	√	Encourage others	Good RE teacher	Poems for festival	-we agree with HT	Life stories	√	√	-
Vern	-	Support for one another	Good teachers <i>stories &amp; questions</i>	-	Loves HT Reads to us God's word	Personal support when in problems	√	√	√
John	√	Love others	<i>Helps me in maths-focus</i>	Growin g plants?	Friendly CT	-	√	√	√
Felista	√	Love one another	Good advice	Talent: Comic; poetry	CT likes advising me	Life stories	√	√	-
Sinbad	√	Encourage others	-DT shows me maths	Talent Good artist	Friendly CT generous CT	-	√	√	√
Joy	√	Don't hurt others Order: lunch	Calling register	Clean school	Caring teacher	Responsibility	√	√	√

Table 3e: Searching, developing, naming themes: Iterative bottom-up approach from both activities (Themes overlap)

Overall Themes	-Social mobility -Social inclusion; -Respectability; Social consciousness	Roles for headteacher and teachers						
		Fostering Secure & predictable school (Imaging school community; reception; sense of responsibility & expectations	Building a Value System Towards Social Development (nurture co-existence; 'Peer keeping'; life skills & unlearn violence)					Nurture other Abilities
PARTICIPANTS/ EMIC ISSUES	MEANING Support family and others [SF or SO] Job/ better life (SM) Respectable (R) Safe (S) Self-fulfilling (GR)	EXPERIENCES Access: reception	1: Entry Impressions and issues e.g. exams, fears, anxiety Expectations	2: Belonging : gestures of acceptance e.g. Love from others	3: Morals/values [pupils liked] Teachers promoting good Behaviour, discipline, values	4: Peer relations Play, love, help encourage, don't hurt one another	5: Pastoral Godliness, prayer, Pastoral elements	6: Activities liked by pupils
Shem	Shaping behaviour towards others	Felt so good	Exam to go to next class 1-4	Teach us as own children	Don't hurt others Behave well	Got good friends	Pastoral teaching-behave well	F/b
Deric	SM, R, SF; help others Morals [adabu]	Happy	transition to university	-many people welcomed me; happy teachers	Taught respect; Behaviour.	Loving classmates	Prayer for all Hopeful about all	-
Dan	SM, SF, Help others, Understand myself	Happy	-	Love & warmth by all; help me build my future	Taught Behaviour Don't fight, Care for all understand others	Helpful peers	-	-
Noah	For Knowledge learn behaviour	Very happy My dream school	Passed first exam CT-shows	Get education & cared for	Good behaviour	Friends encourage me	-	Dancing f/ball C/Arts

			how to pass exams					
Isabela	SM-better life		Exams for promotion Risky path to school Personal problems	Warm welcome	Hard working	Play with friends happily	-	-
Zippy	SM-succeed in life	Happy	Exams-No. 2. Made my dreams	Welcome by CT, Love everybody	Respectful, honest, Love others	-	God will answer my prayers	Science
Joan	SM, SR, SF Independent Control self Help others	Joyful encouraged couldn't afford sch. items	Exam-I work hard to go to next class Allowed in	Warm welcome by all	Taught behaviour	Laugh and joke together	-	Dancing Singing
Shaline	SM, SF, help others	Enjoyed	Exams-we work hard	Good welcome Love others	Encouraged to work hard	Play together	Children of God	Music festival
Peter	Knowledge SM; doctor-support others	Excited Told about our school	Parent says don't go to school	Helpful CT	Love discipline & Punishment for mistakes	Peers encourage me to come-not parents	-	F/ball
Jey	SM, SF, SR	Happy	Fearful on arrival Frightened	Teachers like me Free interaction	Some kids disturb others are obedient, polite	No enemies They all like me	-	PE
Foska	SM, SF, fear future social difference	Welcome by HT	-Some pupils like fights I was allowed in	-rules on the wall	Don't fight Behaviour Rules (wall)	Friends encourage me to stay on	R E: virtues kindness	Poems Music Festivals
Vern	SM, SR, HO Not a beba!	Enjoyed	Distance from school	Welcome by HT and peers	Good school environment	Helpful friends; siblings	-	Football Running

John	SM, R respectable	Happy	I read to pass Exams	-	Don't fight Pupils swearing Behaviour	Good friends	Bible stories	Sports
Felista	SM, explore my Talent Surgeon (for heads??)	Very happy	Exam: I very work hard	Very warm welcome	Don't fight	-	-	-Talent comics gymnasti cs
Sinbad	SM, Explore my talent, be a doctor	Happy	-	Friendly HT CT loves me	Be encourager s of others	Genero us to his classma tes	-	F/ball Artist
Joy	SM (change my future)	Very good school	-	Warm welcome, Love flag, flowers	No fights Obedience Queue orderly	Play together	-	Environ mental club

## APPENDIX 4PN:

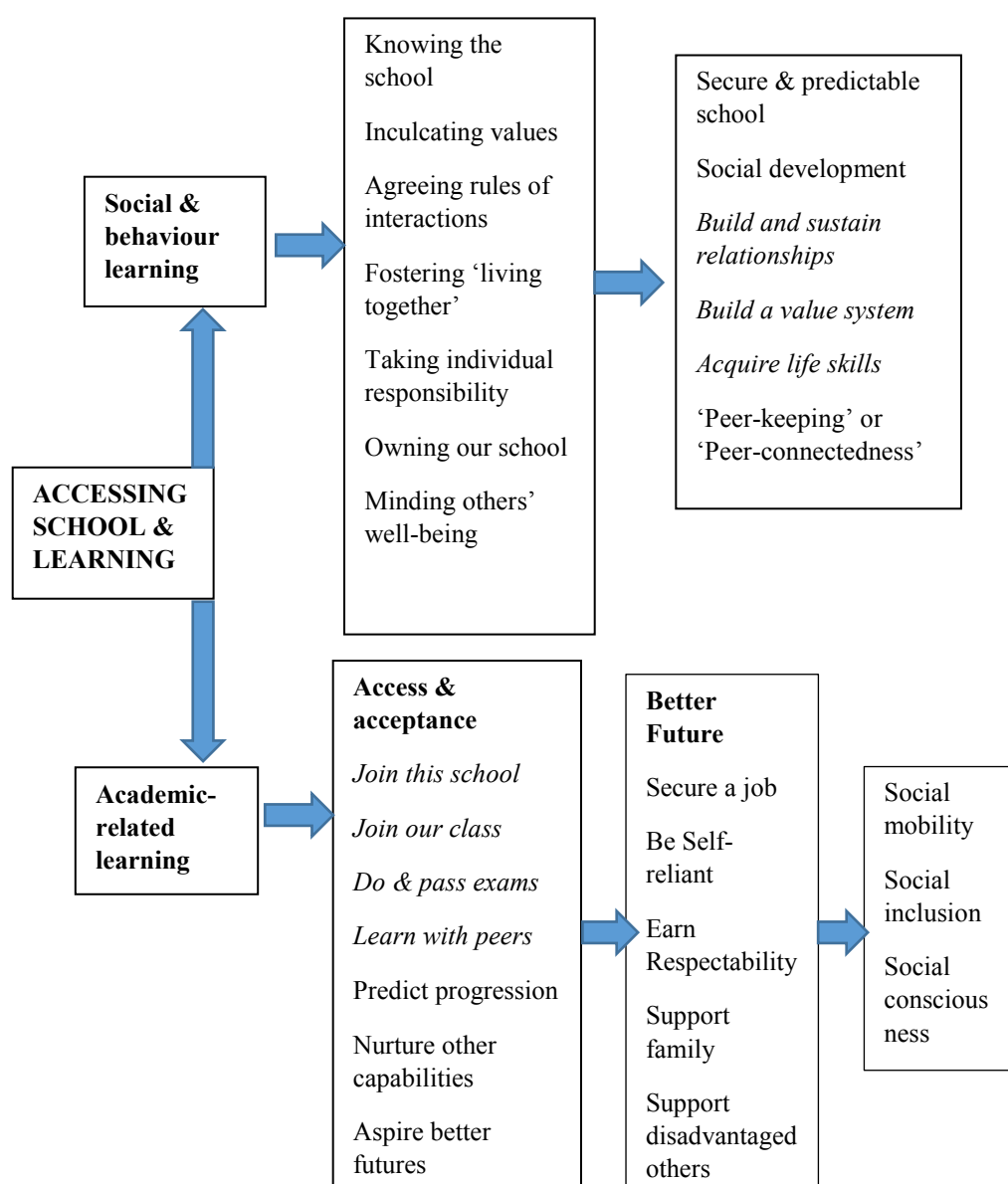
Thematic issues generated from pupils' semi-structured write-ups & spider-diagrams

How pupils understood the idea of 'inclusion in education'

- Accessing/joining this school
- Learning/having education

Pupils' experiences of learning and being in this school:

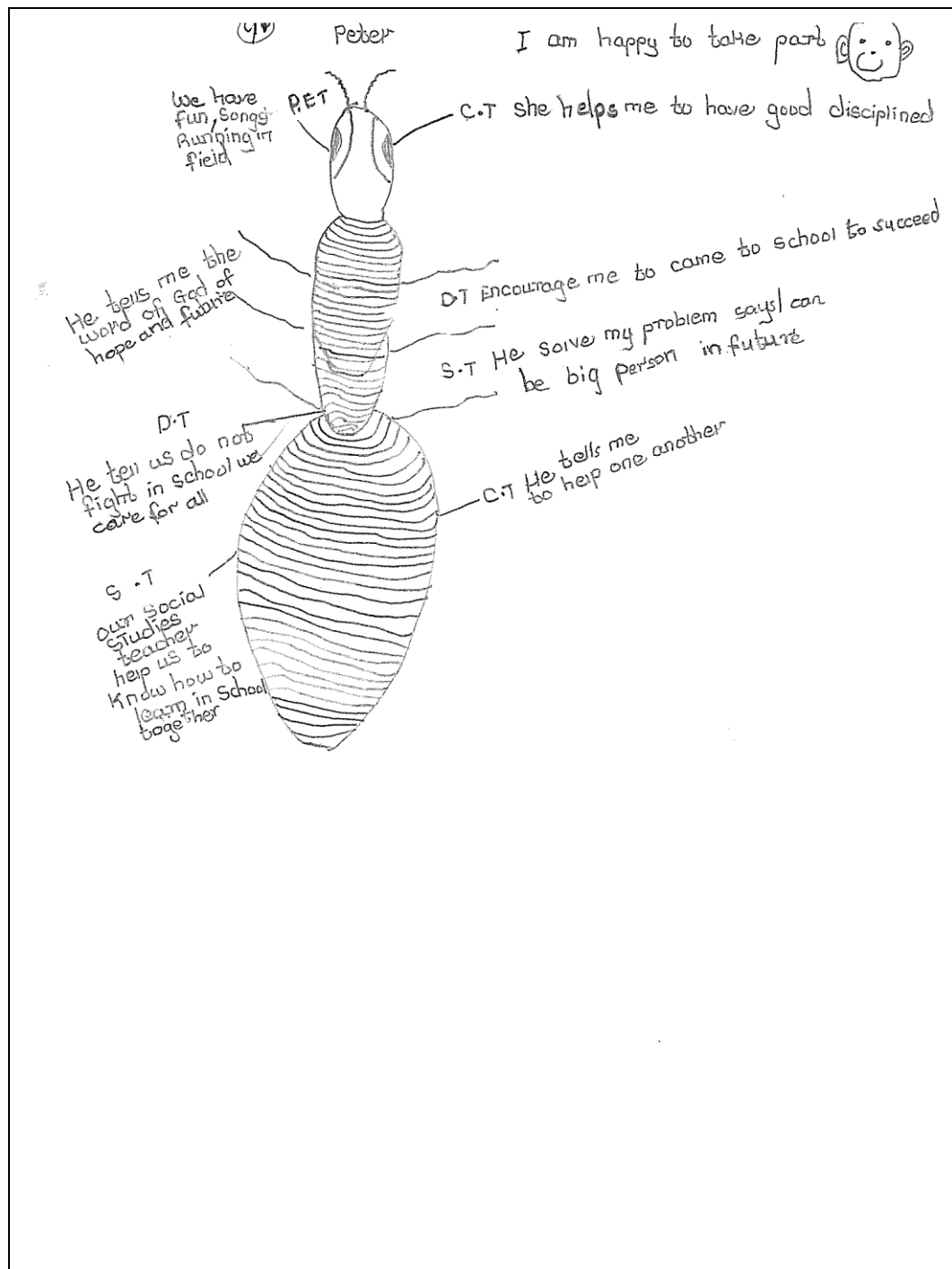
- Entry experiences
- Participation and achievement experiences
- Nature and bearing of experiences/interactions with the headteacher and teachers





## APPENDIX 4S: SAMPLE ACTIVITIES

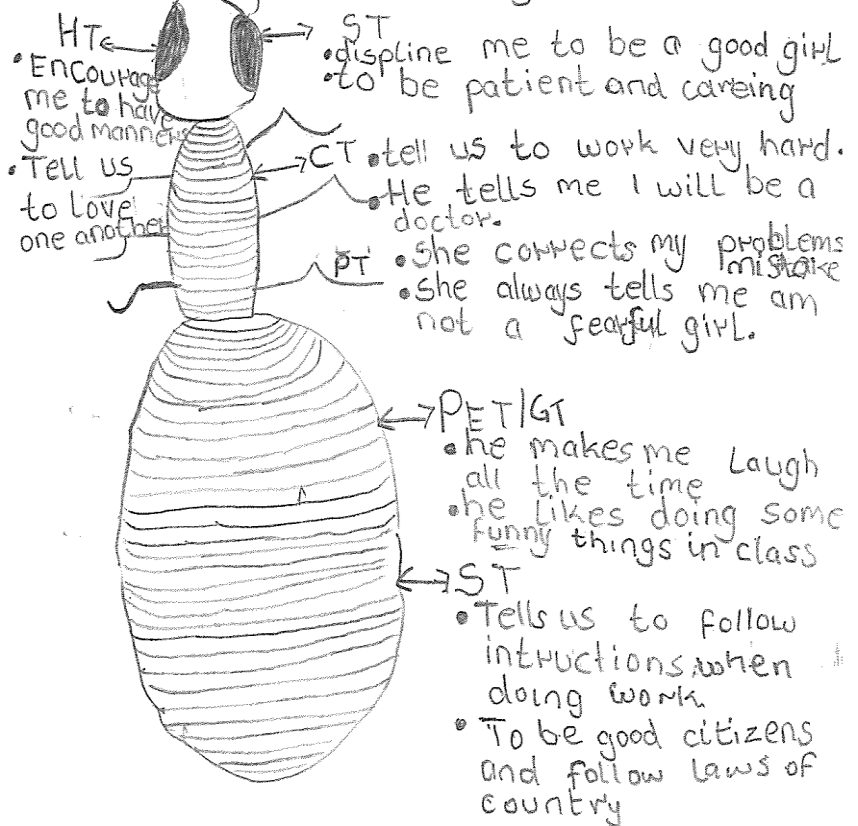
### 'Spider Diagrams' and Write-ups




6

ZIPPI 

people who encourage  
me to continue  
Schooling and how  
they do it.



Sample: write-up

	Dan	LEB
	My schooling Experience	
	23-10-201	
	My name is D. Fresh	
	I am happy to take part 	
	I am in standory four, My name is D. Fresh. I am ten year. I live in I.D.P camp. I have many friend. For me to able to come to school it means when I will be come a big man, I too help my relative and People with disabilities. I come to school in the morning to read and understand for myself.	
	The first day to hear about this school I was full of joy. I know that I will start my school. People who encourage me to come to school daily are HT, school mates and CT. I was full of happiness. I know that my friends encourage me to learn. CT encourage us to learn to fulfill my dreams. When we are fighting he teach us behaviour and to try to understand one another. He encourage us to learn well to go many countries as U.S.A, Australia, New Zealand and Nigeria.	
	CT encourage me to learn to help people with their own problems. My friend encourage me to come to school to read and they help me to learn well. When I see people love me I saw every one is with me and I felt saw happy to see people love me in this school. And help me to build my future.	

## PHOTOGRAPHS AND TEXTUAL MATERIAL

### Appendix 5.1 Drama, Poetry and other Performances

**Theme:** The role of peer group in restoring peers to school after self-exclusion. The girl in the middle (Foska) is holding a book, 'just restored' to school. Photo captured during the school closing day ceremony, April 2014. Picture two is a 'singing game'. The school community listens and cheers. Explanations offered by the teachers involved in preparing these activities.



Picture 1



Picture 2



Picture 3/4: pupils performing poems during school at assembly

## 5.2: Tabulation of available mean scores from 2010-2013

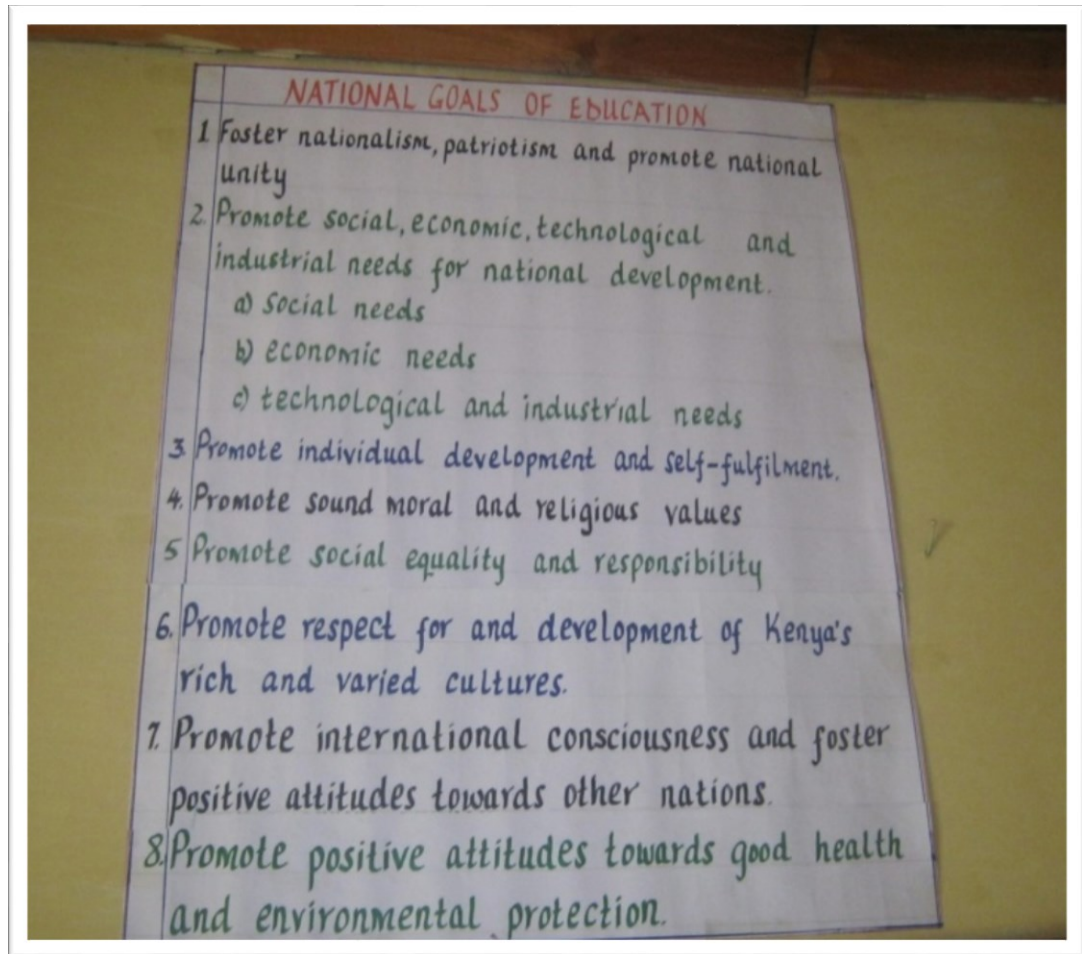
The school started in second term (T2) in the year 2010. The school calendar has three academic terms (T) (T1: Jan to early April; T2: May to early August and T3: Sept. to end of Nov). The number of class-levels increases yearly. Those in Standard one in 2010 joined Standard two in 2011 shown by arrow [↓], standard three in 2012 and four in 2013. This follows a downward but diagonal progression in the table.

The [----] indicate scores not available. Results for T1 2014 were not yet out at completion of my fieldwork in April 2014.

Class	2010		2011			2012			2013		
	T2	T3	T1	T2	T3	T1	T2	T3	T1	T2	T3
1	234.13	275.49	180.93	----	221.33	----	----	170.31	184.83	279.12	217.11
2			292.46	299.19	288.44	----	----	270.78	219.16	254.73	291.55
3						----	----	285.75	265.65	277.90	274.97
4									273.49	276.15	295.59

NB: Five subjects are tested out of 100% =500. The total mark for each is divided by the number of pupils in the class to obtain the class mean score out of 500. Class 1 in T3 (2013) registered a sharp drop in mean score while other class show relative/steady improvement.

### 5.3: National Goals of Education

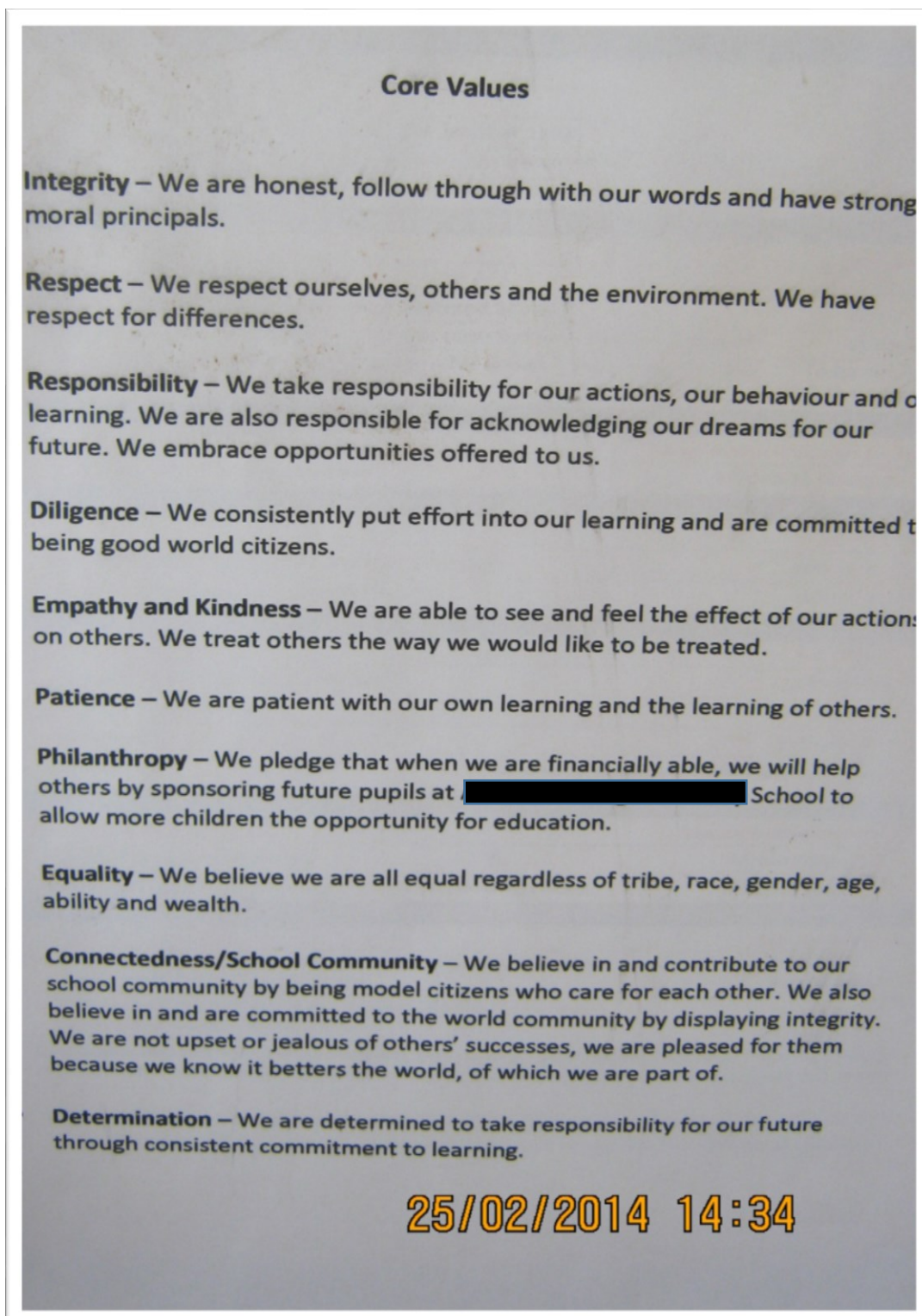


National goals of education were referenced as part of what shaped school core values.



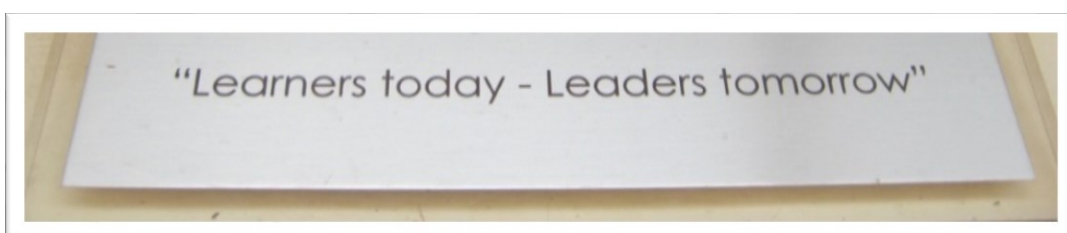
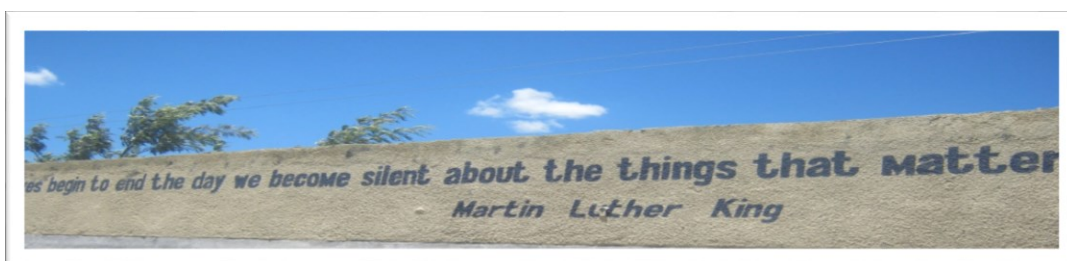
#### 5.4 School core values

These values intended to provide shared understandings of what was considered as appropriate or inappropriate, including desired goals.



## 5.5 Wall statements that backed-up the school core values

(For anonymity, parts of the picture with name of the school are cropped out).





## 5.6 Parents background form

Child's name: \_\_\_\_\_

DOB: \_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Enrollment to STD: 1 2 3 4 5 ECD

Parent's name: \_\_\_\_\_

Parent's phone number: \_\_\_\_\_

Place of residence: \_\_\_\_\_

Number of parents alive: \_\_\_\_\_

Number of siblings: \_\_\_\_\_

Number of siblings attending ARPS: \_\_\_\_\_

Number of parents working/employed: \_\_\_\_\_

Type of work/employment: \_\_\_\_\_

Type of work/employment: \_\_\_\_\_

Type of abode: house tent within IDP camp outside IDP camp

NB: This form was used to identify and chart the needs and circumstances of children and their families.

### 5.7 January 2014 Standard one intake: challenges in obtaining school uniform

In this photo, of the 18 Standard one pupils captured queuing, 7 did not have either proper or complete school uniform on their first day at school



## 5.8 Pupils' Homes: Shelters and local orphanage





## 6.0 SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION HIERARCHY

### 6.5 School Administration

#### (i) Head teacher

##### Duties and responsibilities

The duties and responsibilities of a head teacher include the following:

- Class teaching.
- Overall Head of a school under the direction of the BOM.
- Secretary to the BOM and PTA.
- Accounting officer responsible for preparation of the estimates for recurrent and development expenditure for approval by BOM
- Overall organizer, co-ordinator and supervisor of all the activities in the school and also responsible for improving and maintaining high training and learning standards.
- Advising, interpreting and implementing policy decisions.
- Responsible for quality assurance and standards assessment in the school.
- Planning for procurement, development and maintenance of physical facilities and instructional materials at the school.
- Responsible for school-based Teacher development and skills upgrading.
- Promoting positive linkages between the school and the neighbouring communities and/or other nearby organizations.
- Promoting the welfare of all staff and pupils within the school.
- Guiding and counseling teacher trainees during teaching practice.
- Inducting and mentoring new teachers.

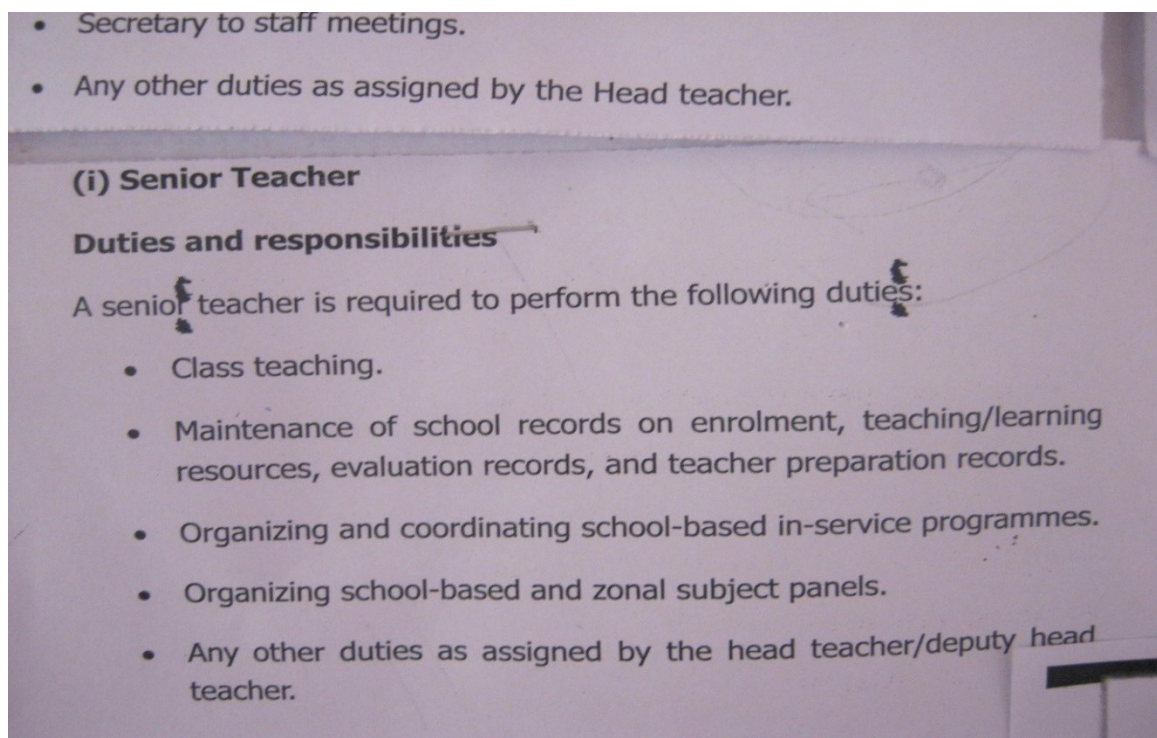
### **Duties and responsibilities**

The deputy head teacher shall perform the following duties:

- Class teaching.
- Deputizing for the head teacher.
- In charge of discipline in the school.
- Scheduling of instructional programmes and examinations.
- Supervising of school activities including maintaining cleanliness and general repairs.
- Responsible to the Head teacher for requisitions and the maintenance of stores records.
- Responsible to the Head teacher for the supervision of teaching and non-teaching staff.
- Secretary to staff meetings.



## Senior teacher



## Class teachers

